CALLED TO WITNESS

Profiles of Canadian Presbyterians

A SUPPLEMENT TO ENDURING WITNESS

Edited by

W. Stanford Reid

Volume I



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Profiles of Canadian Presbyterians

(A Supplement to "Enduring Witness")

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W. Stanford Reid

This volume of biographies

is published as a memorial to

Norman Allan MacEachern

1882-1945

founder of Presbyterian Publications
and with appreciation for the work of

Beatrice Logan

and the late

Neil G. Smith

who carried on his work of providing
Canadian Sunday School Lessons for
The Presbyterian Church in Canada

Presbyterian Publications

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1 - 7
John Geddie, Apostle to the South Seas	8 - 23
William Dawson, and "the Puritan work ethic."	24 - 43
Robert McLaughlin, Business Man in the Service of Christ	44 - 52
Robert Campbell, the Defender of Presbyterianism	53 - 66
Lucy Baker, the First Woman Missionary to Canada's North West	67 - 82
John Morton, the Founder of the Presbyterian Mission in Trinidad	83 - 94
John Bethune, Founder of Presbyterianism in Upper Canada	95 -110
Thomas McCulloch, Pioneer Educationalist of Nova Scotia	111-127
William Bell, Upper Canada Pioneer	128-143
Robert Burns, Founder of the Free Kirk in Upper Canada	144-161
Cairine Raey MacKay Wilson, Canada's First Woman Senator	162-175
Ella Mutchmor Thorburn, lady extraordinary of Ottawa	176-186
David George McQueen, pioneer of western Canada	187-202
Ephraim Scott, Editor Extraordinary	203-212
John Buchanan, Missionary to the Bhils of India	213-226

Introduction

An anniversary is always a time for remembering the past. Consequently it is most appropriate that at the time of the 100th anniversary of the union of all Presbyterians in Canada into one church, that Presbyterians should take account of what has taken place during their historic century. To this end a history of the church has been written by Professor John Moir of the University of Toronto, but it was also felt that it would be good to have a collection of short biographies of Presbyterians to supplement the more formal historical work.

That such a collection of centennial biographies has a sound biblical basis is indicated by the fact that as we turn to the Scriptures we find that God's calling is to individuals, not to broad classes nor even to one nation. This was true even in the case of Israel. (cf. Rom. 9) Yet God does not call his people apart from the Church, as though every individual believer is separate from every other believer. He calls his people to faith in Jesus Christ as saviour and lord in and through the Church in order that the Church itself may continue to be "the pillar and foundation of the truth". (1 Tim. 3:15NIV)

General histories of the Church, or of one part of it, cannot but limit themselves to large sweeps and vistas in which most of the individual figures tend to disappear into the background. True, the great figures such as Augustine of Hippo, Martin Luther, John Calvin

and others who have exercised decisive and radical influences on the church will stand out in bold relief, but the people who have faithfully fulfilled their calling although they have not had a Church-shaking impact seldom receive more than a line if even that. Movements, trends, social, economic, political and cultural forces must all be taken into account with the result that at times the more general types of church histories tend to cause the reader to lose the feeling that he is actually reading about men and women of flesh and blood, of like feelings with himself.

It is a fact, however, that the Holy Spirit works within the Church through individuals. This volume, therefore, is designed to supplement the history of Professor Moir in order that individuals who do not appear within his focus may be seen close-up in their activities in the Presbyterian Church in Canada as they sought to extend the Kingdom of Christ among men. In this way it is hoped that not only will a fuller understanding of the development of the Presbyterian Church be made possible, but that through reading the story of these thirty or more Presbyterians, the members of the church may be stimulated to emulate them by reconsecrating themselves to the service of Christ in the second century of our church's work in Canada.

It would seem appropriate at this point that some account be given of the preparation of this volume. At the request of the General Assembly's Committee on History, the editor undertook the preparation of the volume with the understanding that he would be assisted by

Professor Allan L. Farris of Knox College. Professor Farris agreed to help and has been of invaluable assistance in the work, particularly in helping to solve various difficulties which have arisen, both by advice and by hard work.

The first problem with which the editor was confronted was that of choosing the people whose biographies were to be written. As the Presbyterian Church in Canada has produced a large number of notable figures in Canada over the past two centuries making choices was not easy. However, to begin with it was decided that no one now living would be included. It was felt that this would be the safer course in that there would be no possibility of the editor and adviser being charged with favoritism, at least to the living!

In order to cover as wide a spectrum as possible, it was then thought wise to divide the biographies into three classes: ministers, missionaries and lay people. In this way it was hoped that some idea could be given of the development of the church within Canada, the influence of the Church beyond Canada's borders and the impact of the Church through its members on Canadian society as a whole. The book would not consist of merely a set of unrelated individual histories, but would give something of a coordinated account of how various individuals played their part in the story of the church's growth and expanding influence.

But even when these decisions had been made, the major question still remained. Who would be included? It was then decided that people

who had already appeared in biographies in an earlier volume: Enkindled by the Word* should be omitted, as this volume is still available. Furthermore, there were some Presbyterians who are well-known by all Canadians and who have had numerous accounts of their lives written by various authors: Sir John A. MacDonald and William Lyon MacKenzie King are good examples. Yet even with these eliminated the number of people who could be considered was still very large, far too large indeed for the size of book envisaged by the editor and the General Assembly's committee. The result was that arbitrary decisions then had to be made in determining who would be included and who would not, in order to choose a representative group.

At this point another problem arose. Were sources available for the biographical accounts? When this question was posed a number of names had to be dropped. Then there was the matter of obtaining authors who would write the short biographies. A number of people who were approached found for one reason or another that it would be impossible for them to assume this responsibility. Others responded gladly to the requests with the result that these chapters have been written and appear between these covers. Some of the authors, however, found that the time limit set by the editor was too short as they had to do considerable extensive digging in order to accumulate the necessary material. This is the reason that the book has not appeared at the same time as the history.

The editor and the committee both realize that even with all the care taken many names

have been left out which might well have been included. More women might have been included had it not been for the difficulty of finding both materials and authors to write their biographies. In this connection it should also be pointed out that many of the men who made their names in Presbyterian circles originated in the Atlantic provinces, but did not stay there. Consequently the work which they did and that which they achieved had its locale in "Upper Canada" or the west. It is hoped, however that this book will spur on others to write full-length biographies of various Presbyterians who have played important parts in the church and in Canada as a nation. We need either a Canadian Dictionary of Presbyterian Biography or a collection of short biographies published in paperback for popular reading.

As one reads these biographies, although they are relatively short, one sees the great variety of men and women who have played an important part in the history and development of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. At the same time, however, despite the fact that many different authors have written the chapters authors who themselves have very varied backgrounds, one being from North Carolina another from New Zealand as well as authors from all over Canada, certain common characteristics appear in the lives of those whose story is told.

One of these characteristics is a deep sense of commitment to Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. They have seen and accepted him as the one who has reconciled them to God. But

they have also realized that he is the Lord of their lives, indeed the Lord of life for all men. This faith and commitment have been the dominant factors in their lives and activities.

But those who held this faith have not sought to keep it to themselves. The ministers and professors have striven to bring the knowledge of God's redeeming grace in Christ Jesus to men in their preaching, their teaching and their pastoral activities. The missionaries have sought to carry the message of the Gospel of divine grace to other lands: India, the New Hebrides, Guyana, China and Taiwan in order that others of different countries and cultures too might partake of that same grace which they have tasted. Finally the laymen and laywomen have sought to manifest and demonstrate their Christian faith in the lives which they have lived as businessmen, politicians, educationalists in order that as R.A. Murray wrote:

> From ocean unto ocean
> Our land shall own Thee, Lord.

In all these lives, therefore, we may well see the possibility of Christian renewal in our church and in our land at this time. They show us what ordinary men and women, committed to Christ can accomplish for him. We are reminded of the words of the writer to the Hebrews:

> Remember your former leaders, who spoke God's message to you. Think back on how they lived and died and imitate their faith. (Heb. 13:7, Good News)

INTRODUCTION

The editor would express his gratitude to Professor Farris for his help and advice on many occasions. He would also offer his deepest thanks to the various persons who have contributed to this volume. Many have taken time out of very busy schedules to do the research and writing necessary to bring it to fruition. He has had to bully some to obtain the articles, but eventually they have all appeared and the authors have been extremely cooperative whenever questions of changes or revisions have arisen. He would also say that he is happy that the General Assembly's Committee on History invited him to undertake this task as part of his contribution to the centenary celebration of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

W. Stanford Reid,
Guelph, Ontario.

NOTE

*This work may be obtained from The Archives of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, c/o Knox College, 59 St. George Street, Toronto, Ontario.

Due to the length of many of the original manuscripts it has not been possible to include all of the biographies written at the request of the Centennial Committee. It is hoped that a second volume will be produced at a later date.

John Geddie (1815-1872)

Apostle to the South Seas
by J. Graham Miller

John Geddie was born in Banff, Scotland, on 10th April 1815 and died at Geelong, Australia on 14th December 1872. He was the first foreign missionary of the Presbyterian Synod of Nova Scotia, of the Presbyterian Churches of Canada and of any of the British Colonial Churches. His father John Geddie had been influenced by the religious awakening which accompanied the preaching of the Haldanes with the result that he began to worship in the Independent chapel at Banff. His mother, Mary Menzies, came from Secession stock. John was the only son among four children and his life was in the balance after birth. His parents viewed his recovery as an answer to their prayers and dedicated the child to missionary service. In 1816 the family migrated to Pictou, Nova Scotia where the father continued his trade as a clockmaker and the family joined actively in the life and work of the Prince Street Presbyterian Church. There young John Geddie made his profession of faith on 22nd June 1834 at the age of 19. He enrolled at Pictou Academy and later took his theological studies under Dr. Thos. McCulloch, then the only professor of the Church of Nova Scotia. Illness, however, overtook him during his theological course

but out of his restoration emerged a resolve to devote himself to the heathen although he was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Pictou on 2nd May 1837 at the early age of 22, as there was no opening for missionary service abroad he accepted a call to the congregation of Cavendish and New London, Prince Edward Island, where he was ordained and inducted on 13th March 1838. Here he served an apprenticeship of seven valuable years rousing his Church to zeal in Home Missions and pioneering in his Church a concern for Foreign Missions. On 21st September 1839 he married Charlotte, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Alexander McDonald, medical practitioner of Antigonish, when she was "very young and very beautiful" according to the later testimony of her eldest daughter. Charlotte bore him eight children and died in Melbourne at the age of 96. Two daughters married missionaries in the new Hebrides, Lucy (Lucretis) becoming Mrs. Thomas Neilson of Port Resolution, Tanna, and Elizabeth becoming Mrs. Daniel MacDonald of Havannah Harbour, Efate. In spite of separations for schooling the family were deeply attached, devout partners in their parents' missionary task.

The nickname "wee Johnnie Geddie" which he earned at school referred only to his slight stature and his conversion and missionary passion soon made a man of him. As a lad he read the missionary magazines which reached their home from an aunt in London, England. He

followed closely the work of the London Missionary Society then flushed with the achievements of John Williams in the South Seas. The United Secession Church of Scotland gave Williams 500 Pounds and asked him to look out for them a field in the South West Pacific. Later their interest was transferred to the Church in Nova Scotia which was a daughter Church. This explains the surprising fact that the Nova Scotia Church went so far afield for its foreign Mission field and did so in close partnership with the LMS. Meanwhile Geddie showed the instincts of generalship in the way in which, step by step, he marshalled the churches of Nova Scotia for foreign missions. In 1840 he succeeded in getting Bible and Missionary Societies formed within the congregations of the Presbytery of Prince Edward Island. They sent their first offerings to the LMS in London. The martyrdom of John Williams on Erromanga in November 1839 shook the Christian churches of the world. In 1843 Geddie published in the denominational paper a series of letters on the claims of the heathen and urged the churches of Nova Scotia to commit themselves to foreign missions. Led by Geddie the Presbytery of Prince Edward Island in July of that year overtured the Synod of Nova Scotia for authority to set up a foreign missions committee. The Synod did this in 1844, and in 1845 instructed the committee to select a field. On 24th September 1845 the committee selected Western Polynesia, now called Melanesia, as its field, leaving the choice of the particular group or island

to the missionaries in consultation with the LMS in Samoa. When no applications were forthcoming Geddie offered his name to the committee and was accepted on 24th September 1845. Opposition within the church was immediate and outspoken, but the Church got behind him with contributions and encouragement and Geddie spent an arduous year visiting the congregations of the Synod disarming criticism and inspiring confidence and support. As a second ordained missionary was not forthcoming the Geddies sailed from Halifax on 30th November 1846 with Mr. Isaac Archibald, a Catechist, and his wife as colleagues. In seeking to broaden his preparation Geddie had learned printing, building, plastering; and the rudiments of medicine from his father-in-law. Nothing of this was lost.

The tedious voyage via Cape Horn allowed them two excellent opportunities to orientation in a Polynesian environment, first for some weeks on Hawaii and later for some months on Samoa. Here Geddie's eager soul drank in avidly everything he saw, from the preparation of arrowroot as a means of financial self-support in an indigenous church to the mastering of the linguistic principles of the Polynesian languages. His subsequent work bore the imprint of Samoa on all its facets. The LMS had been at work in the New Hebrides since 1839 and had had Polynesian evangelist-teachers stationed on Aneityum since 1841. When the mission party finally sailed for the New Hebrides in 1848 they favoured placing the Geddies on Efate,

now the centre of the New Hebrides with Villa the capital of the Condominium government. On arrival there the reports they gathered were too disturbing and so the "John Williams" sailed south again and landed the mission party on Aneityum on 29th July, 1848, the birthday of the New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission. The LMS seconded the Rev. Thomas Powell a senior worker in the Samoan Mission, to assist the New Hebrides Mission.

Aneityum the southernmost of the 30 inhabited islands of the New Hebrides group, is about 35 miles in circumference, a typical tropical island with fringing reefs, protected harbour, graceful volcanic peaks, and lush vegetation. But the presence of malaria, the periodic cyclones, the savage usages of heathenism and the no less savage influence of the first wave of European whalers and traders told another story. The first missionaries found an imbalance of 100 men to 60 women in the sex ratio due to the habitual strangling of the wife upon the death of her husband, the destruction of infants, especially girls, and the eating of children for food. Wars were chronic and the victims were devoured as part of the price of defeat. The results were perpetual insecurity of life, unrelieved bondage to the spirit-world, coarse depravity and universal distrust.

From 1841 the Aneityumese had encountered Europeans. Whaling ships favoured anel-

gauhat Harbour on Aneityum as a base and so did the sandalwood traders. Their exactions from the people, grabbing of land, women and food, brutality with firearms and inducements with cheap trade goods constituted the greatest threat to the Mission and prejudiced Geddie's position from the beginning. But the novelty of white women as the partners of the missionaries along with the presence of their little children reassured the people serving to soften and disarm them. Alone of all the white men the missionaries carried no firearms. A Roman Catholic Mission had arrived in strength three months before the "John Williams" in 1848. They were housed in a formidable iron structure of two storeys surmounted by cannon, never being seen abroad without firearms. Geddie made his overtures of friendship to both the trading community and the Roman Catholics. But both groups withdrew in 1852, the Roman Catholics victims of malaria and discouragement; the traders in disgust at the irresistible progress of the Mission and the gospel which it brought to the people.

The Samoan teachers who had been on Aneityum for some years eased the missionaries into their culture and language study and acted at first as interpreters. But on the fourth Lord's Day after their arrival Powell preached in Aneitumese and Geddie on the sixth, thanks to the drilling in Samoan grammar. The mission teams began regular visits to the people within easy access and "urged them to give up their superstitions

and horrid customs and receive the truth as it is in Jesus". An exploratory voyage round the coast in their whale boat evoked interest and requests for teachers from most of the chiefs that mattered. In ignorance the missionaries broke some local taboos and there was talk of burning down the mission house. Geddie's sensitivity saved the situation. "When they saw our disposition to yield to them it had a softening influence ...Natives may be drawn but they cannot be forced". September saw the mission band dispersed to key points as bases for evangelisation of the island. "We will now be able to attack the enemy from different points".

Before this diaspora the Lord's Supper was observed on Aneityum for the first time. Geddie preached from I Cor. 16:22. Fifteen partook, but no Aneityumese, though some were already on the side of the Christian teachers when Geddie arrived. Language now absorbed them, but the people were tardy with words and had to be bribed with ship's biscuits. Two hurricanes in quick succession gave notice of approaching malaria and the disaffection of the people who said their gods were offended with the Mission. But when the LMS' "John Williams" next called in September 1849 "they were pleased with our statement of progress". However with the ship went the Powells overcome with malaria and discouragement, and the Archibalds left the Mission, after his moral failure with a

native woman. Archibald later joined the sandalwood trading establishment giving Geddie added pain and the traders huge delight. The Geddies were now alone with the Samoan teachers. "The Clouds" begin to thicken around us". He refers in his journal to "persecution from our own countrymen..... Some of our enemies have urged the chiefs to drive us off the island and burn our houses". Geddie is sure that this hostility is due to "our efforts to arrest licentiousness...which, if unchecked, threatens to ruin this poor people". 1849 drew to a close with "much to encourage and to discourage". Geddie failed and nearly lost his life in an attempt to save a widow from strangling. But in 1850, with the active help of the chief Waihit, he prevented another widow from being strangled, "a most important event in the history of the island... The horrid system of strangulation has received a check from which it will never recover". By repatolating some marooned Aneityumese natives from Tanna he won the respect of the local chiefs who told him they had agreed "that I was to remain on their island and leave it no more". In August 1850 Geddie reviewed the first two years: Sabbath attendances had risen from 10 to 45, mainly women and children. In October 1850 he notes "no extensive movement to Christianity...They come in one by one...Few men come to hear". When the response grows the opposition of the heathen majority becomes more organized and menacing. By Feb. 1851 "All manner of evil is spoken against myself as well as the native

converts, and many threats have been made against my life". And next month "our converts are confined to the humble ranks; the chiefs as a whole are opposed to us". After the death of a Polynesian teacher he writes "We are sowing in tears...we are in the midst of enemies white and black".

Then the break came almost imperceptibly. In August 1851 he notes that many chiefs and priests were renouncing heathenism and seeking instruction in the gospel. In desperate reaction the heathen planned a massive demonstration of power to intimidate the waverers, massacre the Christians and wipe out the Mission. But they could not agree on the best plan of action and this proved the beginning of the end of heathenism. In September 1851 the Archibalds left for Sydney and many accessions to the faith immediately followed, the local chief being the most significant. An attempt by remote heathen, incited by others, to burn down the Mission house reacted in favour of the gospel, winning the sympathies of many waverers. When the "John Williams" again called in May 1852 they recorded, "An amazing change has taken place since our last visit...conspicuously the working of the Lord".

Geddie recognized that he was there to build a living church that would reflect Biblical patterns of responsible self-government, exercise the Biblical gifts of the Holy

Spirit and thus be furnished with its own leaders, initiative and resources, possessing a concern for outreach to the heathen and a healthy desire to provide for all its own needs as a church. As he saw the central place in his program to be the translation of the Bible into the vernacular he set to work to achieve this, adding book after book, some on his little press at the Mission station. He held a high view of the intellectual gifts of the people as renewed by the Holy Spirit and assisted by the facilities of learning. As a result of his labors such a church now emerged reaching its definite form between 1852-1856. When the "John Williams" arrived in June 1852 he consulted with his LMS colleagues and they resolved upon the formal establishment of the church. On the next Sabbath 15 Aneityumese were baptised comprising 6 men, seven women and two children. The Lord's Supper followed. This was the birthday of the Church on Aneityum, the Church in Melanesia and the Presbyterian Church in the New Hebrides. On 1st July welcome reinforcements arrived from New Zealand in the persons of the Rev. John Inglis and Mrs. Inglis, of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland. They came at the invitation of Geddie, just in time to save the mission from disaster. Geddie told Inglis that with constant malaria he could not have held on much longer.

The new zest which came from these wel-

come allies banished Geddie's malaria. Inglis proving to be an able and constant partner no team ever worked more constructively and harmoniously than these two remarkable families. They took separate sides of the island and arranged a sensible division of duties. Geddie devoted himself to the translation and printing of text books; Inglis devoted himself to building up the educational side, adding vocational schools to the village elementary schools, and matching Geddie in a Training Institution for indigenous evangelist-teachers. In 1856 the first deacons were elected but the election of elders was delayed until more of the Bible could be in the hands of the church to guide them in their choice.

The next step was remarkable. Geddie saw the need for the Christian church to give full recognition to the office of the hereditary chiefs. On 9th July 1854, when a huge gathering was held for the opening of the first large church at Geddie's station, the new chiefs were present in their capacity as the custodians of the civil authority. Their first piece of legislation was to prohibit the procuring of women for ships and foreign visitors, a law directed at the suppression of female slavery and the protection and dignity of womanhood. As a result the population began to pick up. Peace and plenty prevailed. Visiting heathen from Tanna were astonished at what they saw. The old fetishes, of which they once lived in terror, they saw destroyed. Education advanc-

ed with the rapid production of graded texts, beginning with a primer in 1849 and leading ultimately to hymnals, catechisms, a geography, and the whole Bible in Aneityunese (1878). Mrs. Geddie translated the Pilgrim's Progress and she and Mrs. Inglis worked systematically with the women and included young women in the Vocational Schools. Family worship in the homes, cleanliness and health were immediate fruits. By 1859 the entire population of 3513 professed Christianity. Those of age attended school and were literate. Heathenism with its associated uses had disappeared. The church was paying its way without overseas funds by means of voluntary teacher-catechists, the production of arrowroot each year and generous gifts of time and labour. There were then 297 communicants, 110 catechumens, 56 elementery schools, 11 churches and 60 teacher-catechists and assistants. To-day the visitor to Aneityum marvels as he photographs the ruins of Geddie's massive stone church built to seat 1200, on an island with less than 300 people.

The loss of life among the Polynesian teachers due to malaria convinced Geddie that he must train indigenous teachers as evangelists to the other islands. Therefore, he and Inglis pioneered this outreach from 1853 onwards. With the help of the "John Williams" the Aneityumese church sent its two first "missionaries" to Futuna in 1853 and another two to Tanna the same year. These were

accompanied by their wives, were men of high standing usually chiefs, and not novices. By this "native agency" the Aneityumese church undergirded the earlier effects of the LMS Polynesian teachers to evangelize the islands as far north as Efate. Mission vessels came to assist this outreach, first the 5-ton "Columba", next the 12-ton "John Knox" and finally the 115-ton "Dayspring" built in Pictou in 1863 and lost in a hurricane at Aneityum in 1873, but quickly replaced with a larger vessel. The paralysing event of the measles epidemic which destroyed one third of Aneityum's population in 1861 ended the first flush of evangelisation by that church and helped to crush Geddie's noble spirit. He felt for them as for his children.

The spirit which drove St. Paul to seek the "regions beyond" gave a restless eagerness to Geddie's later years when his thoughts turned more and more to the central and northern islands of the group. The Mission Conference in 1861 met under the shadow of tragedies on both Tanna and Erromanga, but Geddie refused to concede defeat. Led by him the Mission sought the aid of the LMS in pushing north to the large heathen islands. On 13th September 1861 Geddie and his LMS colleagues established the second island church in the New Hebrides at Erakor, Efate, the work of native teachers from Polynesia and Aneityum. They then landed teachers at Epi and another party at Santo,

but both ventures ended in the loss of most of these lives.

As Geddie was showing signs of strain the Mission Conference urged him to take a furlough in Canada, which he did for three years (1864-1866). His visitation of the home churches was one long ovation and he returned refreshed in 1866, followed by a D.D. from Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. But his intimate missionary friends detected his failing health. His heart bled for his people dying in successive epidemics and he grieved over the action of the Mission conference in seeking the assistance of British warships to redress wrongs against the persons and the property of missionaries. In this matter history vindicates Geddie. But he found fulfilment in pushing forward the boundaries of the Mission. He re-opened the Tanna Mission with his son-in-law Neilson placed at Port Resolution. He supported J.D.Gordon's desire to go to North West Santo to open work there. In 1870 he was on board the "Dayspring" procuring, locating and superintending teachers in his own gentle and persuasive way. That year saw John Goodwill of a sister Presbyterian Church in the Maritimes settled at South West Santo.

But Geddie's work was now almost done. He had been commissioned by his brethren to see the Aneityumese Old Testament through the

press in Melbourne and this necessitated several visits on the "Dayspring". He was back at the Mission Conference at Aneityum in June 1872 when he took a stroke which paralysed his right side. His death came after a steady decline into unconsciousness on Saturday 14th December 1872, in Geelong.

The memorial minute of the Mission in 1873 is a noble, factual and God-honouring tribute to his memory. But the most famous monument is the inscription which Dr. Robert Steel of Sydney, Australia caused to be written on a tablet in Geddie's old church:

> "When he landed in 1848 there were no Christians;
>
> When he left in 1872 there were no heathens".

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William Dawson (1820-1899)

and "The Puritan Ethic of Work"
by Edgar Andrew Collards

Sir J. William Dawson, who "made McGill" during his long principalship from 1855 to 1893 and who was one of the first Canadian scientists to be known and honored throughout the world, was also one of the most striking expressions in Canadian history of "the Puritan ethic of work". And his life, by the richness of its quality and the range of its achievements, proved how effectively beneficent this ethic could be.

From the time when he was only a boy till, as an old man, he dropped to the floor while classifying specimens in the Peter Redpath Museum of Natural History, he never ceased working. He worked all day. He continued far into the night in his study in McGill's East Wing, where (as Prof. John Cox recalled) "the cheerful lights at night used to assure us that the head and heart of McGill were busily at work". Sir William took no holidays; he only shifted his working pattern. He crowded work into every odd moment of the day (as when a cab had been called to take him downtown and he would put on his overcoat and seat himself at his desk to work

until the cab was actually at the door).

A friend of about his own age, Canon Jacob Ellegood, a pioneer Canadian golfer, once tried to interest Sir William in the game. "Sir William, in later years", said Canon Ellegood, "suffered from ill-health, and I suggested to Lady Dawson, one day, that she should encourage Sir William to play golf. I will never forget her look. 'Sir William play golf -- Sir William play golf!' she said, with an air which meant, 'How could you suppose that so grave a person as Sir William could think of indulging in sport?'"

To Sir William work meant far more than merely being industrious or ambitious; to him it meant duty. His life rested on the Presbyterian insistence on the direct moral responsibility of every person to a personal God. And to him life was time. He had to account to God not only for his years, but for his months and weeks and days--even for his minutes. Time wasted, or lost in recreation, would have weighed on his conscience. It would be opportunity gone, never to be recovered. Man was made to serve God through his work. Always before him was the text: "So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do". The Puritan ethic of work, as Dawson interpreted it in terms of his Presbyterian faith, was not something with bounds and limits, only a part of

life; to him it was life itself. When he came to write his autobiography toward the end of his days he chose the meaningful title: Fifty Years of Work in Canada. In his life, it was the work that mattered.

Part of the importance of work, in Dawson's view, was that it set a good example for others. The careless and slovenly person could only spread his own demoralization.

The issue emerged in an interesting way in connection with the perennial problem of discipline in classes. The North American Review published a symposium on "Discipline in American Colleges". Principal Dawson was invited to contribute his opinion.

Dawson wrote that he had been gratified that "no instance of any college rebellion or serious disturbance" had occurred at McGill in his time. Nor had he ever had to expel a student. These results had not been achieved by espionage or repression. On the contrary, he was convinced that liberty was necessary to "make students self-reliant and fit for the battle of life". The positive influence, he believed, came from principal and teachers doing the best they could to establish their own credibility as workers. How could they expect young people to work if they themselves were obviously shiftless, poorly prepared, or came late to their

appointments? "They who would rule," he stressed, "must themselves learn willing obedience. Of course, there is a place here for the elevating influence of spiritual religion, and there is scope for that most important power which arises from the example of punctuality, self-denial and honest work on the part of professors".

Dawson was writing as a teacher, as well as a principal. He taught geology and paleontology throughout his thirty-eight years at McGill. He also taught botany and zoology for most of his McGill years (and these classes were attended, among others, by the medical students). At times he taught mineralogy, ethnology, comparative physiology, and agriculture. In fact, he once told Dr. Frank D. Adams, one of the younger professors, that at one time or another he had taught almost every course at McGill, both in science and the humanities.

As he regarded teaching as one of his moral duties, he set no bounds to it. He taught far beyond the university campus. He lectured frequently to societies and groups, especially those who would never have an opportunity to attend a university. He lectured on science and the Bible on Sunday afternoons, and would be seen walking down the campus avenue with his Bible under his arm. He was also indefatigable in spreading the knowledge of science in articles in popular magazines and in introductory books.

His own zeal as a teacher, and the example of "honest work" and punctuality he always set, removed all problems of discipline in his classrooms. One of his students in the 1870's recalled: "Though humble and approachable, he had a strength of character that commanded your respect. It mattered not what sort of rumpus was in his class before he arrived, all he had to do was to turn his eye to floor and gallery and there was order and respectful calm".

Nor was Dawson's ethic of work without its own educational value. He made workers of many of his students. "To those of us ... who have studied under him," wrote Henri Ami of the Geological Survey of Canada, "and who are now following up the science which he so dearly loved, and which he so generously imparted, with an inspiration and a zeal which but few masters possess, may it be said that we have caught something of the fire and earnestness of his life and "spirit".

The Puritan ethic of work was seen in Sir William Dawson's career as a scientist, as much as in his career as a teacher. He was not a man who was religious <u>though</u> a scientist; he was religious <u>because he</u> was a scientist. He never regarded science and religion as if they were separate realms. As a scientist he considered himself privileged to be studying the works of God. To be lazy or careless in studying God's handiwork

would display irreverence to the Creator. Dawson saw the glories of God's creation spread out before him. He must hurry to examine them; he must use every moment he could to understand and appreciate what God had done. In the Peter Redpath Museum at McGill he arranged his vast collections with a view to illustrating God's handiwork. He had a large wooden plaque erected on a wall of the museum, in a conspicuous spot. It was to remind the visitor that he was not merely seeing objects but beholding wonders. On this plaque were the words: "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches."

Dawson's love of science had a mystical radiance. It was not merely factual, needing only precision. It was a splendor for the spirit of man. He revelled with gratitude in the bounty of God's creation. His life illuminates the depth of feeling that could lie within Puritanism. He saw the poetry of the earth. Its beauty transcended all that man could create. "The world has worshipped art too much, reverenced nature too little," he told the Montreal Natural History Society in 1856. The joy of scientific work was always with him. The ethic of work was not for him grim or grinding. A man who used his days and minutes to study the wonders of God, and to instruct others in them, could only rejoice in his privileges. Why should he want to give up his work to indulge himself in

other pursuits? For Dawson the Puritan ethic of work, so understood and applied, made for a light burden and an easy yoke.

Principal Dawson would get back to his field work once the academic year had come to its close. In choosing places for his summer holidays, the primary consideration was the opportunities they offered for research. In his summers he dredged from barges, climbed mountains, or went on walking tours, "geological map in hand." He spent working holidays in New England, in Murray Bay, Metis, Gaspé and Prince Edward Island. In 1883, when in his sixty-third year, he took advantage of his first leave-of-absence from McGill to travel through Egypt and Syria. Rest seemed imperative. He needed the year to recover his "strength and energy". But work was his recreation. He spent much of his time uncovering archaeological specimens in the caves on Mount Lebanon, and returned to McGill with packing cases filled with specimens.

When eventually he decided to buy a summer cottage at Metis, it was not to have a quiet retreat for undisturbed idleness but because the region was of particular interest to a scientist. "It is near both Pleistocene and Palaeozoic deposits", he explained, "and has good dredging ground in the vicinity, which affords interesting examples of varieties of molluscs, akin to those northern forms found in the Pleistocene clays.... Here, too,

I have found time and opportunity to write most of my books and scientific papers, varying sedentary occupations with collecting expeditions, ranging from Quebec to the Bay of Chaleurs, and to Nova Scotia." He described Metis as being associated with some of "the most useful days" of his life. The naturalness with which he described his summer cottage as being "useful", is still another example of the way the ethic of work entered into every aspect of his life.

Dawson did his best to teach his students that a change of work is the best recreation--so much better than unproductive idleness. "When you are wearied with one kind of study or work," he suggested, "it is often a much greater relief to turn to another of a different character, than to sink into absolute repose." He was convinced that the capacity to find refreshment by turning from one task to another can be developed, and that "it is essential to the highest usefulness and the highest enjoyment of life". He would back up these urgings with the incontestable statement: "I have not in this been giving advice that I have been unwilling to take myself".

This overruling ethic of work--this ceaseless awareness that he was called directly by God to account for his time--was the outcme of the lifelong influence of Puritan Presbyterianism. It was an ethic reinforced by Presbyterianism in Canada's pioneer conditions.

WILLIAM DAWSON

Sir William Dawson was born and reared in Pictou, the Nova Scotian settlement to which Rev. James McGregor had been sent as missionary by the General Associate Synod in Scotland. In 1786 James McGregor had made his way toward Pictou by forest paths, sometimes nearly up to his knees in mud or water. At Pictou the primeval forest came down to the shore, with only a small settler's clearing, here or there. He had preached Pictou's first Presbyterian sermon in a barn.

In Pictou, Presbyterianism became a pervasive influence. Young William Dawson was brought up as a member of the church, and a student under clerical Presbyterian teachers in the Pictou Academy. Dawson's father, James, used to say that he owed his own soul to Presbyterianism. At Huntly in Scotland he had been surrounded by companions who were "profligate and immoral" and presented "examples of depravity" such as he had never seen before. But at the age of nineteen he had joined the Presbyterian Church and associated himself with more responsible companions. When he settled in Pictou he became an active Presbyterian layman--a worker in the Sunday school and Bible Society, and active in missionary and temperance enterprises.

The Puritan ethic of work played in such a community a social role critically important; it was an ethic peculiarly needed at such a time and place. Sir William Dawson used to

recall that in Pictou, as in most colonial communities, respectability of character was most likely to be found among hard workers; the town idlers were likely to sink "into a sort of heathenism and semi-barbarianism". The will to work marked the dividing line between the decent and the degenerate. Sir William said he had learned from his father to have "a respect for honest labour," and to prefer any useful employment to mere amusement." That paternal lesson had been well learned.

Dawson's Puritan ethic of work, though inspired and sustained by his Presbyterian faith, proved quite compatible with those who valued work in an industrial capitalist society. Part of Dawson's outstanding success as Principal of McGill came from the easy way he and the business community of Canada's metropolis agreed on hard work as an economic virtue.

Dawson undoubtedly had religious principles primarily in mind when he delivered his University Lecture in 1863 on Duties of Educated Young Men in British North America: "First, then, I would say that our country expects of you that you should prepare yourselves thoroughly for and pursue earnestly and perseveringly, some useful walk in life..British America has no room in it for idlers. There is more than enough work for all..." But the business community of Montreal, conscious of the economic value of the Principal's words, could applaud

his sentiments for reasons of its own. Such an appeal would be heartily approved even by William Macdonald, the rich tobacco manufacturer, who was strongly opposed to all churches, but who could find in the Principal's ideas about work much in accordance with his own outlook. He was shortly to become McGill's chief benefactor.

Nor did Principal Dawson in the least object to education taking a more practical and professional form. He had advocated such policies in his Inaugural Lecture in 1855. He himself was a man with a practical background. In Nova Scotia he had worked with his father in handling tools, setting type, and selling goods across a counter. As his father had taught him, there was virtue in "any useful employment," even as there was likely to be vice in any "mere amusement." The leadership that McGill under Dawson's principalship took in expanding the practical courses far beyond the limitations of the old classical curriculum was due to the way Dawson's ethic of work flourished in the atmosphere of Montreal's industrial and commercial expansion.

The tangible results of Principal Dawson's ethic of work were immense. He found McGill in 1855 as an almost moribund institution, really alive only in its Medical Faculty, which had had an independent origin and had continued an almost independent existence. The buildings on the campus were partly in ruins. The unfenced grounds were ragged and unkempt and open

to neighboring herds of cattle. The Governors had been selling off portions of the campus to raise funds.

When Dawson retired as Principal in 1893 he left McGill with a thousand students, substantial endowments, a whole row of impressive science buildings, in being or under construction. In no sense can Dawson's principalship and McGill's growth be regarded as only loosely connected. He had raised the university largely by his own extraordinary devotion to work. He was rightly recognized in his own day, as he has been recognized ever since, as "the Man Who Made McGill." If economic trends in the country and city were favorable to McGill's expansion, it was he who attracted and guided them. He gave public confidence by his own dedication. He was a man inspiring confidence by his "honest work."

McGill's reputation in the wider world owed much to Dawson's industry and reputation as a scientist. While still a young man in his twenties he had made important discoveries on his own in the geological structure of Nova Scotia. He had done field work in Nova Scotia in the 1840's with the visiting Sir Charles Lyell, the greatest British geologist of the day. Together they had discovered the remains of the world's first air-breathing animal and they had jointly announced their discovery to the world, Dawson's standing among scientists is seen on his certificate as a member of the Royal Society of London:

Charles Darwin and Thomas Henry Huxley both supported his admission. In the intervals of his administrative work at McGill he somehow found time to write a steady stream of scientific papers, recording the wide range of his original investigations. He regarded his magnum opus as the research that more than doubled the world's knowledge of the flora of the Devonian period.

McGill gained in prestige when its Principal was twice elected President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and also President of the British Association. As president of both societies he was host at McGill to their annual meetings. Never before had any scientist been elected to the highest office in both the associations. His election as President of the British Association had been made the occasion for his knighthood.

McGill gained further prestige when its principal was asked by the Marquis of Lorne, then Governor-General of Canada, to take a major part in founding the Royal Society of Canada and he was elected the society's first President in 1882. Such honors as these were not only in recognition of his eminence as scientist and educator; they were also a recognition of his immense capacity, and his dependable willingness, to take upon himself the efficient discharge of difficult and detailed obligations. He was honored because he was ready to serve. Additional burdens

to a life already too busy never deterred his acceptance of them.

This ethic of work was not expressing an acquisitiveness, or a selfish grasping of prominence. His working programs entangled him in serious losses and sacrifices. The university and its needs always came first; his own interests and ambitions were subordinated to them. During his early years as McGill's Principal he spent his entire salary on urgent improvements to the university; he lived meanwhile on money of his own. All through his long principalship his salary was never enough to cover the expenditures he felt obliged to make to meet university needs. He would even at times pay the expenses of students out of his own pocket, if they were doing good work but were having trouble in making both ends meet. He supplemented his principal's salary by "professional work," much of it the preparation of reports for companies on mining prospects.

At the time of his retirement he described his principalship as "that of a pioneer." The dignity of office, resting on adequate emoluments, had never belonged to him; he hoped that it would belong to his successor. He had had to work ceaselessly, turning his hand to whatever task had to be done, often realizing that if he did not do it, it would never be done at all. It had not been easy. His years as principal had,

he said, been "filled with anxieties and cares, and with continuous and almost unremitting labour."

The greatest sacrifice his McGill work had demanded of him was only imperfectly understood by others. He had given up the career in science that might have been his to see most of his life consumed in the exacting details of administration. He had not set out in life to be an educator. "My plans in life lay in an entirely different direction," he said. He wished, above all, to be a scientist.

Dawson had accepted the principalship of McGill in 1855 in the belief that he could combine it with research and writing. The years proved that he had been mistaken. It is true that somehow he was able, by prodigious application to work, to carry out substantial scientific research, to write of his discoveries, and to be rewarded with honors. But he never deceived himself. He was always aware that what he was achieving as a scientist was falling far below what he had hoped for, and far below his potential. As the years went by he saw scientific ambitions slipping away. Several times he considered resigning the principalship, while there might still be time to do the work in science that he had planned. He was seriously tempted about 1880. He said that he "received a tempting offer of employment in the United States, which would have improved my income,

and given me greater scope for original work." But the needs of McGill always seemed to be imperative; his sense of duty would never release him from commitments and obligations. In the end he grew old and exhausted and the prospect of what he might have achieved in science closed before his eyes.

His Puritan ethic of work had been motivated more by his sense of duty than by his personal inclinations. He could scarcely have been a greater principal; he could have been a far greater scientist. The ethic of work dominated his life; the form of that work was not what he would have freely chosen.

But the faithful pursuit of duty brought rewards of its own. More and more, as Principal of McGill, he had the respect, almost the reverence, earned by the worker who has served a cause greater than himself. He had demonstrated how the Puritan ethic of work, so far from being relentlessly self-seeking, could be relentlessly self-sacrificing. He became McGill's benign patriarch. His presence may be felt in the full-length portrait by Wyatt Eaton. It is a commanding presence but it commands by its beneficence. As one of his students was to write: "There was a certain impression of gentleness, simplicity and dignity made by his very presence on the campus. Somehow I always had an instinctive reverence for his character."

Sir William worked till the very end.

After his retirement, feeble in health, he worked hard to get his superb collections in natural history properly classified and arranged in the Peter Redpath Museum. Much remained to be done. He was working against time. Every day, as one observer recorded, "with indomitable perseverance ... the well-known figure of the old Principal would make its way, bag in hand, across the campus to the museum he loved so well, there to work..." One day, while at work in the museum he dropped to the floor, paralyzed by a stroke.

The Puritan ethic of work had found in Sir William Dawson a total expression. He believed that he had done only what was his duty to do. His successor as Principal of McGill, Sir William Peterson, paid tribute to him in words of precise truth when he said that Sir William had lived "a full and complete life, marked by earnest endeavour, untiring industry, continuous devotion and self-sacrifice, together with an abiding and ever-present sense of dependence on the will of Heaven. His work was done, to quote the puritan poet's noble line, 'As ever in his great task-master's eye', and never for a moment did he waver in his feeling of personal responsibility to a personal God."

In addition to all his work in education and scientific research, Dawson voluntarily assumed another immense burden. He became a controversialist, on an international scale, over the issue of evolution.

WILLIAM DAWSON

Charles Darwin's The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection was published in 1859, four years after Dawson had been appointed Principal of McGill. Dawson soon perceived, as he believed, its threat to the whole basis of Christian doctrine. He opposed many aspects of Darwin's theory. But he was concerned, most of all, with Darwin's idea that evolution had taken place of itself, as it were--not under the special direction of God, but in a hit on miss way. This groping progress in nature was not the orderly unfolding of a divine plan. It was a blind struggle, involving incalculable waste and loss and cruelty. Worst of all, he felt, was the effect of Darwin's theory on man's estimate of himself. He would be no longer the special creation of God--made by God in His own image. He would be only a relatively superior animal, who had indifferently emerged from his brutish origins, over an inconceivably long period of time.

Dawson believed that the tender mercy of God was over all His creation; but in Darwin's theory of natural selection God would be rendered irrevelant, or, at best, a sort of absentee landlord, scarcely paying any attention (or needing to pay attention) to what was going on in his earthly estate.

To emerge upon the world scene as an opponent of Darwinism, risking the prestige of his own scientific reputation and of his university position, imposed rigorous new

demands upon a man whose working-pattern was already crowding all available hours of his days. He would be ranging himself against the most informed, the most skilful, the most eminent scientific figures of the era. And it would be painful to enter into dispute with Darwin and Huxley, who had previously recognized his scientific attainments and signed his certificate as a member of the Royal Society.

But with Dawson the Puritan ethic of work prevailed over considerations of caution or convenience. The opposition to Darwin's theory of evolution was his evident duty; here also was his appointed task. Somehow he had to find time, along with all his other work, to engage for the rest of his life in this exacting, exhausting, insistent controversy.

A series of anti-evolutionist books came in rapid succession. They included (among many others) Nature and the Bible, in 1875; The Origin of the World According to Revelation and Science, in 1877, The Chain of Life in Geological Time, and Fossil Men and Their Modern Representatives, both in 1880; The Meeting Place of Geology and History, in 1894.

He realized that the influence of Darwin's theory was extending far beyond the scientific circles and into popular, public knowledge. He was ready to take on obligations as an anti-evolutionist lecturer, and as the writer of anti-evolutionist articles for the popular

press.

In this tedious controversy Dawson felt himself largely alone--a man going against the main current of scientific thought. The work involved was ceaseless. He had to keep up with the latest arguments, the most recent discoveries. His own arguments had to be re-adjusted to meet fresh challenges.

When Dawson entered the evolutionist controversy he was well aware that he was taking arms against a sea of troubles. But he had taken on this work in the spirit of faith; and he had faith that the future would justify him, even though the struggle often seemed frustrating. "Evolution," he wrote, "will have its day, and then men will wonder how they could have believed it."

Dawson felt called upon to work all the harder to save as many as he could from being deceived (as he believed) by a passing theory--one that could, nevertheless, by destroying their religion, destroy also the ethical basis of work as the service of God.

Robert McLaughlin (1836-1921)

"Business the Servant of Religion"
by Walter Jackson

From Pioneer Farmer to Industrialist

Robert McLaughlin came from a poor family but his three sons died wealthy men. The eldest, John, became a pharmacist and developed the soft drink "Canada Dry". George and Robert, Jr., were pioneers in the manufacturing of cars in Canada and were responsible for General Motors coming to Oshawa.

Not all immigrant families were poor but the McLaughlins were. Robert's first venture was a pioneer farm between Oshawa and Bowmanville, and that was with his father's help. His father, John, had come from Ireland to Peterborough by way of Port Hope. He then settled in Darlington Township, north of Bowmanville. The eldest son, Robert, was born near Peterborough. The McLaughlins were devout Presbyterians. John was travelling to Peterborough, so the story goes, when their boat overturned and he lost almost all his possessions but he saved two things, his purse and his Bible....a true Presbyterian.

Because the McLaughlins were living in a Methodist settlement, they had to travel some distance to the nearest Presbyterian Church, a Free Church in the Village of Enniskillen, in which John Smith was the minister. The

ROBERT McLAUGHLIN

McLaughlins are first mentioned in local Church records as witnesses at a wedding held in Thornton's pioneer United Presbyterian Church in Whitby Township in 1841.

His father, John, was an old-style Presbyterian. He loved theological debates and he raised his family by 'The Book'. This suggests the picture of a Victorian pioneer family as it has been so often portrayed, the self-righteous parents, the inhibited children. The McLaughlins were not like that! They loved music and good times and had a good family life. Their religion was applied in concern for their neighbours and in their daily work. Thus Robert grew up to apply Presbyterian morality to his work and to his life. He believed that you should give an honest measure and an honest day's work. Christian righteousness for him meant that you should never do 'anything crooked', even the truth should not be bent - even a little bit. All through his life Robert lived by the principle that because you gave your best to God, you always gave your best to whatever you were doing.

The McLaughlins also stressed practical education. Robert's younger brother John W. was a scholar and something of an orator. He went to medical school at the University of Toronto to become a doctor. From 1879 to 1886 he served as the M.P.P. for Durham as a Liberal and an Oliver Mowat supporter. He was reputed to be a firm Presbyterian and a Prohibitionist which tells us much about the McLaughlin family.

When Robert married Mary Smith, a farm girl who attended Enniskillen Church, his

father established the young couple on a fifty-acre wood lot. He had a house to build and a farm to clear, but Robert still found time to make his axe handles. As a child he had become an expert whittler, and when still a youth, he was turning out axe handles and whiffle trees which were reputed to be the best that you could buy. In the first shed for his new house, he built a workshop. At first only his spare time was spent in the workshop as he made and repaired wooden articles but increasingly the carving business cut into the time he should have spent farming.

If this story was a story of so many other handymen, he would have lost his farm. His family would have been teetering on the edge of starvation. But Robert did well. When he was thirty-two years of age he moved to Enniskillen to go into business for himself. Already he had looked at the carriage catalogues and decided that he could build better.

His first wagons and carriages were made for the neighbours. He did the woodwork but hired a blacksmith to do the iron work and an upholsterer to make the seats. The upholsterer came from Oshawa from another pioneer Presbyterian family, the Keddies. J.B. Keddie was to become a trusted employee and a friend of Robert McLaughlin for the rest of his life. Because the painting was what the customer saw first, it had to be done especially well so he did it himself. His business grew, and won prizes at the local Fairs. In 1870 the Bowmanville newspaper reports, "R. McLaughlin First Prize for the Best Single Carriage". In a few years he had men working full time for

him. Soon the little Village of Enniskillen could no longer provide the facilities for his business.

If the neighbours thought that he had done a foolish thing in leaving the farm, they thought that he was foolhardy when he went to Oshawa in 1877 at 41 years of age to go into production in a big way. There were already two carriage works in the Town. Little factories of many kinds had come and gone in Oshawa. There seemed to be no way that Robert McLaughlin with his small capital could survive. Not only did he survive, he prospered. The McLaughlin Carriage Works became the only one in Town and then Oshawa's largest business. By 1900 McLaughlins were turning out 25,000 carriages a year.

Robert McLaughlin had two things on his side. He had invented and patented improvements on the drive mechanism and he had the McLaughlin reputation. People felt that he was completely honest and that he would give you the best he had. "In the early years he gave every job a final inspection and the slightest defect, a loose bolt or a rattling spoke, would ensure its being sent back for repair". His business kept growing. When his two younger boys, George and Robert, Jr., entered the business as apprentices, Robert felt that he could expand still further. They began to use the slogan "one grade only and that the best", which became the catchy, well-known McLaughlin trade-mark. He moved from a small factory to a bigger factory and then lost everything in a fire in 1899. The Town

loaned him the money to begin again. When he was 63 years of age he began again! The loan was repaid and his expanding business needed bigger buildings.

Son George took over the office and acted as the Sales Manager. He opened up agencies in the Maritimes and the West and sales increased. The McLaughlin carriages were sold from coast to coast. George was the son who picked up his father's commitment to the Church. By 1893 he was a member of the Board of Managers for the Presbyterian Church, Oshawa, and pushing for the building of a new Church. Both Robert and George served on the Building Committee. Robert is credited with supervising the actual building, giving a great amount of time and thought at a time when his own business was expanding.

By this time, however, the new automobile was making headlines. By 1904 the first of them were coming into Canada. Son Robert, a sportsman and innovator, was fascinated with them. Not so, his father. But eventually his sons convinced Robert that cars were the coming thing. The boys combined the McLaughlin carriage with Charles Durant's Buick motor and the McLaughlin Buick was born. Later when the Company dropped the McLaughlin name, the sale of Canadian Buicks fell. They went back to the McLaughlin name so that in Canada for twenty more years the car was called the 'McLaughlin Buick'. The father's heart, however, was in carriages. When the business ceased to be the McLaughlin Carriage Works, Robert retired in 1915 at eighty years of age.

For another six years he would live on, painting and working but not involved in the car business. Later his two sons would bring in General Motors and McLaughlins would become the Canadian branch of G.M.

General Motors of Canada was launched by the two McLaughlin brothers, George and Robert S., better known as 'Sam'. The later expansion of G.M. was largely the work of Sam. Behind General Motors is the McLaughlin Carriage Works. It was almost wholly the work of one man, Robert McLaughlin, who put his faith to work. His was the skill, the inventive touch, the courage to try the difficult, the foresight, and perhaps most important of all, the Christian character which made it all possible. This was all the capital he had. His son, Sam, said "my father started with nothing but his hands. Fortunately, through my father's good reputation as a man, a good living man, a very religious man, he was granted very reasonable credit". The modern business was built on the foundation of the skills and character of this one man.

Robert McLaughlin was much more than a self-made businessman. The Session of 'the Presbyterian Church, Oshawa', wrote of him.... "his life was a many-sided one. His interests were wide, his sympathies were broad and his influence far-reaching. He rendered great assistance in municipal affairs and generous support to all enterprises existing for the welfare of humanity".

He lived in the time before Unions. His was a paternalistic way with his employees.

ROBERT McLAUGHLIN

He knew them all by name. He took time to talk to them, to help as needed. His granddaughter still remembers with delight the old-style Christmas parties given for the employees of the McLaughlin Carriage Works. He tried to maintain employment through every month in the year. Buggies were made in the fall and winter; sleighs and cutters were made in the summer. The lay-off for re-tooling, as we would call it today came in the late summer at the time to work in the harvest and in the gardens. For Robert all this seemed natural. It was the expression of Christian concern.

As a businessman he served on the Council and for one year as Mayor of Oshawa. Although he was concerned about such things as rail service to the Oshawa factories, his main concern was his church. As a young man he had worked in the Sunday School and over the years was an active churchman "interested in every department of the Church's work serving for thirty years as a ruling elder. His most important contribution was in the construction of the new 'Presbyterian Church, Oshawa', but his support for his Church went far beyond the local community. He was a long time supporter of Queen's University and Knox College. Because he supported the Salvation Army in their 'not respectable' days, he was asked to lay the cornerstone for their Oshawa Citadel. He was also one of the main supporters of the "Y" serving as its first President.

Later the beautiful McLaughlin home was given to the congregation as a manse. The congregation was then called 'The Presbyterian

Church, Oshawa', but is now St. Andrew's United Church. For almost fifty years, Robert's home has served as a manse, and as a symbol of his generosity and concern for his Church.

Son George carried on his father's tradition of quiet good works. He, too, served on the Oshawa Session and in his later years as a Trustee. George bought up the shares of the cemetery that had grown around the old Whitby U.P. burying ground and presented both to the Town of Oshawa. Ever since, Union Cemetery has been maintained and cared for by the Town, preserving the old pioneer Churchyard and the site of the first Presbyterian Church in what is now 'Durham Region'. In the 1930 depression years, he was elected to Council as a reform candidate and is credited with saving the city from bankruptcy.

Robert, Sr. was an outstanding man of his time. He had some of the weaknesses and much of the strengths of that time. He combined faith and works. The Session wrote of him, "he won for himself throughout the Dominion a reputation for honesty and integrity". A granddaughter, Mrs. D.C. Henderson has summed up his life, he was "a man who refused to make religion the handmaid of business but endeavoured to make business the servant of religion".

ROBERT McLAUGHLIN

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Robert Campbell

The Defender of Presbyterianism
by N. K. Clifford

When Robert Campbell's book The Relations of the Christian Churches appeared in 1913, Thomas T. Smellie of Port Arthur suggested it be "regarded as one of the Subordinate Standards of the Presbyterian Church" and James A. Sedgwick said he intended to place it "next the Bible and Confession", amongst his earthly and heavenly possessions. Today, a half century later, these comments seem extravagent because most Presbyterians have not heard of the book and Robert Campbell's contribution to the preservation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada has somehow slipped into complete oblivion. Time invariably reduces human vanity to its just proportions, but often it is human memory, rather than time, which fails to do justice to those who deserve to be remembered for their contribution to a community's identity. Anniversaries are occasions when such failures can be rectified and the 100th anniversary of the Presbyterian Church in Canada is an appropriate time to recall the unique role which this man played in its survival.

Robert Campbell retired in 1909 after forty-three years service as the minister of St. Gabriel's Church in Montreal. At seventy-four years of age he had lived a long, full

life which brought him many honours. In 1887 Queen's University granted him a D.D. degree. He became clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1892, and was elected Moderator in 1907. Together with these posts he also served as a senator of the Presbyterian College in Montreal and as a trustee of Queen's University. From 1867-1870 he was the editor of The Presbyterian, and before the turn of the century he had published a number of essays and an extensive History of St. Gabriel's Church.

Besides his many ecclesiastical, educational and literary interests, Robert Campbell was also a dedicated botanist who kept abreast of the latest developments in science through his association with the Natural History Society of Montreal. The fortunes of this society were for many years guided by Sir William Dawson, the President of McGill University and one of the few 19th century scientists in Canada to have an international reputation as a geologist and anti-Darwinian controversialist. The society numbered amongst its patrons such figures as Cornelius Van Horne of the C.P.R. and it published a journal, The Canadian Record of Science. Campbell's participation in this group was extensive. He published seventeen articles in its journal on such subjects as "The Flowers of Montreal Island", "North American Golden Rods", "The Flora of Cap a L'Aigle" and a major article on the "Centennial of Charles Darwin". For many years he served as one of the several vice-presidents of the society, as chairman of its editorial committee and for a few years as the editor of The Canadian Record of Science.

In 1895 he became President of the society, and two weeks before his death he was seriously injured in a street car while on his way to one of its meetings.

After such a full and varied career, which began on a farm in Drummond Township, Lanark County, Ontario, one might have thought that when Robert Campbell retired he deserved a well-earned rest. Instead, he became involved in one of the greatest fights of his life, and emerged as one of the first and most important leaders of the resistance to Church union within the Presbyterian Church in Canada. In 1909 Campbell did not retire as the Clerk of the General Assembly, nor from many of his committee responsibilities, such as the Chairmanship of the Committee on The Presbyterian Record. As a result he was still extremely visible within the courts of the church and in a position not only to keep his fingers on its pulse, but also to act as a defender of Dr. Ephriam Scott and The Presbyterian Record, when its enemies attempted to silence this voice of anti-union opinion. Campbell's retirement from pastoral duties, therefore, simply left him more time to write, to formulate a systematic ideology of resistence and to work for the crystallization of those forces within the Presbyterian Church which were determined to preserve its existence in Canada.

As clerk of the Assembly, Campbell was not in a position to lead the forces of opposition in the debate on church union. Outside, however, he was free of the constraints

of his position and at liberty to set forth the reasons for resistance to the merging of the Presbyterian church with the Methodists and Congregationalists. As a member of the first Presbyterian committee on union, he was aware that church union was being advocated by many as an ideal solution to most of the major problems facing the Canadian churches at the turn of the century. He also realized that many were so enthusiastic in their support of the scheme it was considered almost un-Christian to criticize it. Campbell believed, however, that the proposal was a visionary scheme which was untried and unproven. Others might be prepared to risk their heritage in a speculative venture but he would not accept any wager which threatened the existence of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. In 1906, therefore, he published the first major statement of the anti-unionist case in a pamphlet entitled "Union or Co-operation - Which -? His strategy in this essay was to analyze every major argument which had been put forward in favour of union and to show that the unionist case was not as self evident as it appeared.

By far the weightiest argument in favour of the proposed union and for Campbell, "the crux of the whole subject", was the contention there would be "an immense saving in men and money". Campbell doubted this argument and focused his rebuttal on the issues of Home Missions and immigration to the Canadian West. "No one", conceded Campbell, "can deny the importance of this work, regarded from either a patriotic or religious point of view."

However, when the advocates of Home Missions urged the church to reshape its policy, to tear up its roots, to abandon its line of teaching, and throw its past and present prestige to the winds, in order to more adequately face this problem then, said Campbell, "the pastors of the church in the East are constrained to cry 'halt'." Home Missions were not the chief object for which the church existed. The work of the organized congregations throughout Canada was far more important than all of the Mission schemes. Therefore, "the larger interests," concluded Campbell, "are not to be sacrificed to the lesser."

Underlying the urgency of the Home Missions question was the problem of the massive immigration to the Canadian West. It had depleted the populations of many Eastern communities and also deluged the prairies with "the nondescript, unhappy, superfluous population of Europe." To cope with this problem many argued there was a need for more missionaries to look after the spiritual condition of these people lest they "become a menace to the future of Canada". Campbell believed that rather than calling for an "ecclesiastical revolution" to grapple with this problem, a more appropriate strategy would be for the churches to join in protesting against the immigration policy of the government. The main purpose of Campbell's argument, however, was to raise the question whether the church's duty was to be determined by the policy of the corporations which were anxious to earn large dividends by encouraging a rapid filling up of the West. "Are the churches", he asked, "to be dragged at the

chariot wheels of ambitious politicians and trading companies?"

With this type of questioning of all the major unionist arguments, Campbell sought to highlight the quixotic nature of the enterprise and to show the extent to which wishful thinking was at the core of the whole proposal. Others might be easily swept off their feet by utopian solutions to the problems facing the Canadian churches in the twentieth century, but it was his belief that Presbyterians would require proof "of the most indisputable kind". Consequently, he predicted "serious opposition to the proposals as now submitted" and no end of trouble "if the project were pursued." When the ink was barely dry on the first draft of the "Basis of Union", therefore, the basic arguments against organic union and the alternative of cooperation had been clearly articulated by one of its most widely known and respected senior officials.

Campbell's advice was ignored in 1906 but he did not give up the fight. Indeed, shortly after the 1910 Assembly he published another pamphlet on the question of "Church Union". The focus of attack in this publication was the arguments in favour of union presented to the General Assembly by Principal Patrick of Manitoba College. Campbell took issue with a number of Patrick's statements and especially with his understanding of the Barrier Act. "It is not, and never has been", Campbell argued, "the practice in the Presbyterian Churches to send any matter down to the Presbyteries under the 'Barrier Act' before the mind of Presbyteries had been ascertained."

From 1906 onwards copies of the Union Committee reports were sent to the Presbyteries, Sessions, and Congregations for their information and suggestions. Campbell claimed, however, that the mind of the Presbyteries had not been sought either on "the general question, is union desirable or as to the merits of this 'basis of union'." There were no grounds for assuming, therefore, that the issue had been sufficiently discussed in the lower courts to warrant a final decision. Campbell was prepared to admit "Presbyteries may have a predilection in favour of union in the abstract", but, he argued, they might not be "in favour of union on the basis of the document before them". As a result, sending the document to the Presbyteries under the Barrier Act prohibited the Presbyteries from setting forth their views, "except at the cost of rejecting the entire program."

Campbell's strategy in condemning this attack on the rights of Presbyteries was not simply to stall the proceedings, although he admitted he would have no objection to the course taken "if it have the effect of bringing the negotiations to an end." His purpose was to establish that the leaders of the union movement were a "clerical machine" who were determined, even by illegal means, to achieve their ends. As the controversy progressed arguments concerning the illegality of the unionists' actions and the rights of minorities were to occupy an ever-increasing role in the debate. In 1906, Campbell had briefly touched on these questions, but by 1910 they had become more central to his argument.

Up until 1912, there was no way of actually assessing the strength of the minority for which Campbell was speaking. When the results of the vote in the sessions and congregations were presented to the Assembly in 1912, however, it was apparent that the minority was sufficiently strong to make the implementation of the union impossible at that time. This was a blow to the advocates of union within the Presbyterian Church but rather than abandon the project they enlarged the union committee to include many of these who had "for some years opposed the policy of organic union", and proposed that negotiations continue "in the belief that organic union will yet be consummated."

It was partly this action of the Assembly and partly the appearance of two major books by advocates of Church union which prompted Campbell to publish in 1913 his own book on The Relations of the Christian Churches. One of the unionist books was a novel entitled Looking Forward by Hugh Pedley, the leader of the Congregationalist Union Committee. In Pedley's novel, the Rev. Fergus McCheyne, like Rip Van Winkle, falls asleep for twenty years and awakens to discover that church union has taken place and solved all the religious problems facing the nation. The utopianism of this book confirmed Campbell's suspicions about the unsubstantiated wishful thinking of the church union advocates. The second book by A.S. Morton entitled The Way to Union was a more serious piece of historical scholarship. Its thesis was that changes

in the structure of secular society "inevitably" produce ecclesiastical changes. Pointing to Confederation and the emergence of the Dominion of Canada, he argued that these changes in political structures demanded a remodelling of the church in Canada. Morton's book was a systematic statement of the environmentalist presuppositions, underlying all of the unionist arguments. Seeing its significance, Campbell immediately set out to challenge it.

In The Relations of the Christian Churches he argued the issue was not one of environment but heredity. Using Mendel's recently rediscovered work, he contended, heredity was so persistent that accidental variations have no chance to compete with the ordinary typical specimens of a species. Assuming, as most scientists did in the first two decades of the twentieth century, that Mendel's work disproved Darwin's theory of natural selection, Campbell further stressed, there was "a constant return to type when type and variety are mated and therefore it is impossible that any one of the existing species has been evolved out of the one lower in the scale." Therefore, Campbell concluded, nature abhores miscegenation. "In the realm of nature," he continued, "it is found that like begets its like; but that there is a bar to the mating of things that are unlike." From this perspective, he suggested that "crosses between varieties of a species are always weaker than parent stocks, and in competition with the originals always to to the wall, as is illustrated in Mendel's law. An amalgam does not retain the outstanding qualities of parent metals, nor when chemical substances act

on each other, do they jointly exhibit the qualities which belonged to them in the separate state."

With this argument, it was Campbell's intention to prove that organic union was against the clear plan of both God and nature and to show that the attempt to perceive the workings of divine providence from the perspective of environmentalism was false. The "laws of life" as Campbell saw them were radically different from those of A.S. Morton. In his eagerness to show that the evolutionary argument could not be applied to the realm of faith and morals, however, Campbell weakened his case by suggesting that Henry Drummond failed "to draw a clear line of demarcation between the realm of physics and metaphysics." Similar failures, of course, were all too apparent in Campbell's own thinking. Nevertheless, the main thrust of his case against union was devastatingly clear. If the cross-breeding of horses and donkeys produced mules which were sterile, the uniting of Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians would produce a hybrid offspring equally anomolous and sterile.

Over the next fifteen years, the clarity of the argument between heredity and environment was lost and both Campbell's erudition and good humour were forgotten as the issues were reduced to catch phrases and slogans designed for mass appeal. At the time, however, most anti-unionists thought the book was unanswerable and many echoed J.T. Smith's sentiments when he wrote, "I thank God we have left us two such clear-headed men as MacBeth and Campbell."

In spite of the obvious opposition to union within the Presbyterian Church in 1912 and in spite of Campbell's book which systematically formulated the ideological basis of that opposition, the movement towards union continued. Those who were resisting this movement had sufficient strength to stall its progress but they were never able to muster a sufficient number of votes within the General Assembly to remove the question of union entirely from the Church's agenda. Consequently, they were forced to organize themselves outside of the structures of the Presbyterian Church. Prior to 1912, John McKay and R.G. MacBeth put together an organization which was designed to promote the federal union of the churches rather than organic union. The strength of the opposition as revealed in 1912 was attributed to the work of this organization. Following 1912, however, it became apparent to MacBeth that McKay wished to mediate. Therefore, MacBeth and Wardlaw Taylor set up a new Organization for the Preservation and Continuance of the Presbyterian Church in Canada with John Penman, the clothing manufacturer from Paris, Ontario, as its president.

The structuring and financing of such organizations outside of the established institutional framework of the church and in the face of continual opposition was an arduous task which Campbell was content to leave to younger men. Without his support and co-operation, however, the task would have been even more difficult. In planning strategy one of the major problems which the

leaders of such an organization faced was that they never knew ahead of time who would be the commissioners to the General Assembly. The only person who had this information in advance of the Assembly was its Clerk, Robert Campbell. Thus he was in a position to accede to Wardlaw Taylor's request of March 12, 1914 to supply the organization with a list of commissioners so they could mail each of them "a copy of our statement, a list of our General Committee and some other literature." Moreover, as Clerk of the General Assembly for twenty-nine years, Campbell seemed to know almost every Presbyterian of note from one end of the country to the other. In putting an organization together this was extremely valuable information and Campbell was more than ready to share it with his younger colleagues. Other members of the old guard were not in this position as Dr. Thomas Sedgwick revealed in a letter to Campbell apologizing for not being able to supply a list of names "of a special type". The reason was that he did not know "the great mass of the younger brethren."

Although most of Campbell's anti-union activities tended to be either behind the scenes or outside of the church courts, at the 1916 Assembly his position placed him at the centre of the fight. As senior clerk, it was his responsibility to tabulate the votes of the Presbyteries on the question of union. Being an assiduous advocate of the strict application of ecclesiastical law, Campbell ruled that of the seventy-six Presbyteries of the church only thirty-two

"made returns in due form". The problem with this interpretation was that after eliminating the returns of forty Presbyteries on the grounds of various technicalities, Campbell then contended the remit had failed to command the thirty-nine votes necessary to carry it. Understandably the unionist majority in the Assembly were furious and Dr. Duval of Knox Church, Winnipeg, expressed their sentiments when he said, "the Barrier Act was never intended to be the skinflint of a critic." After some heated debate the whole matter was referred to a special committee which, paying little attention to technicalities, reported that "fifty-three Presbyteries might be recorded as voting for union." Campbell made an official protest against the findings of the committee arguing that they "did not under stand the practice of the church" and their report was not, in his estimation "a fair reading of the law". He was overruled, however, by a vote of three hundred and eighty-four to forty-seven. Later when the same Assembly voted to adopt the "Basis of Union", it was Campbell who also presented the minority's dissent and protest which stated, "all those who have gone on record as voting for the adoption of this new constitution, by that act have ceased to be the Presbyterian Church in Canada!"

The parting of the ways which occurred at this time was dramatically symbolized in the emergence of the Presbyterian Church Association at the Presbyterian Convocation held in Toronto, October 17-19, 1916. In the preparation for this event, Campbell's correspondence reveals he played a major role in

fund raising and in advising individuals like Robert Stewart on the conduct of meetings to select delegates to the Convocation. In thanking Campbell for his tireless efforts, Stewart wrote, "without your guidance, we would have been at sea tonight." Until his accident in 1921, Campbell kept up a volumnous correspondence, encouraging his younger colleagues in their efforts, attacking every move of the unionists in the public press and taking on a punishing load of speaking engagements for a man of his age. Unmindful of his own dwindling sources of energy, he left all the worries concerning his health to his daughter, Kate, who tried with little success to slow him down.

All successful movements require a variety of leaders who perform different tasks, at various stages in a movement's development. Of special importance, is the leader who first formulates the belief around which the movement crystallizes. It is he who makes a prediction about the future which inspires faith in its reality and leads men to act so as to realize it's truth. Such predictions have consequences for action which influence the conditions that enter into the judgement of their truth or falsity. The survival of the Presbyterian Church in Canada is sufficient judgement of the truth of Campbell's predictions of 1906. His death in 1921 robbed him of a place of honour in 1925. Now that the dust of battle has settled, however, his significance as a leader in that struggle stands out with a clarity which demands belated recognition from the community he worked so hard to preserve.

Lucy Baker

Missionary to Canada's North West
by Priscilla Lee Reid

High among notable pioneer women who helped to develop Canada's North West, ranks Lucy Margaret Baker who for almost thirty years lived and worked in the area which is now Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. There as a missionary and teacher she devoted herself to the problems of both the white settlers and the Indians, always attempting to bring about a better understanding between the two groups.

In 1878, in response to the call of the Presbyterian Church Lucy Baker agreed to go west with Reverend and Mrs. Donald Ross to teach at the Prince Albert Mission School. This decision must have required exceptional faith and courage in an era when women were less venturesome than they are today. It meant leaving behind a full and culturally rich life to become a pioneer in the wilderness. Miss Tina McGregor of Fort Garry, Winnipeg, one of her co-workers, writing in 1938 commented in a letter "...she had lived in Montreal where there was every comfort. She spent winters on the Reviera. All this she gave up to come to us in the West."

Although this view was probably shared by many of her friends it is doubtful that

Miss Baker would have agreed with it. As a mature and experienced woman she had made her decision to begin a new career and from that point until the end of her life she devoted herself wholeheartedly to the task to which she felt God had called her.

Physically Lucy Baker was small, dainty, and every inch a Victorian lady. But this lady was also strong and independent, unhampered by so many of the fears that plagued women of her day. What is more, she possessed a good understanding of human psychology, a keen sense of humour and a practical approach to all things which helped her to resolve amny a difficult problem. However, the most important factor in her life and basic to everything she was and did, was her deep Christian faith.

Precise details of Lucy Baker's life prior to the time she became a missionary are hard to find, and little would be known were it not for a biographical sketch by Elizabeth A. Byers, written about fifty years ago. She was born in Summerstown, Glengerry County, Ontario, in 1836. A few years later, following the death of her mother she was adopted by her father's sister, a Mrs. Buchanan, who took the young Lucy to live with her in Dundee, Quebec, a bilingual town near the American border. There she attended the local school where she received her first instruction in French, the subject in which she excelled, and later taught as a specialist. For a time she also studied in Fort Covington, N.Y., but other than this almost nothing is known about her formal education.

LUCY BAKER

While still a young girl Lucy accepted Christ and joined Zion Presbyterian Church, Dundee, where she took an active interest in Sunday School and missionary activities. Rev. Donald Ross, her first minister seems to have had a continuing influence on her, for years later it was he who persuaded her to dedicated her life to the service of the church.

Although Lucy's first teaching appointment was to the school in Dundee, following the pattern of the day she soon moved to the United States where she became a French specialist in a young ladies' day and boarding school somewhere in New Jersey. How long she stayed there or how many positions she held is not known, but by the time the American Civil War broke out in 1863 she and a cousin, Mrs. Juliet Buchanan Grubb were in charge of a school for young ladies in New Orleans, Louisiana. This no doubt was an interesting situation in peace-time for the city was an important cultural centre, but as the war progressed and conditions in the south deteriorated, life became a most trying experience for the two Canadian women. The outcome was that they determined to run the blockade and if possible return to the north. Normal travel had been interrupted but they were resourceful and aided by a personal friend who was also a naval officer they succeeded in making the hazardous journey.

What happened to Miss Baker after that is not clear but by 1878 she was teaching French in a girl's school in Lancaster, Ontario. It was in that year too, that the

local minister, Rev. Donald Ross, was appointed by the Home Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church to take charge of the Prince Albert Mission in the North West. Therefore, since he needed a teacher, it is not surprising that he should ask Lucy Baker, whom he had known from childhood to accept the position. Her formal appointment was made by the General Assembly of the Church, on the recommendation of the Foreign Mission Committee which had special oversight of the school attached to the Mission.

Lucy Baker was forty-three years of age when she decided to accept the greatest challenge of her life and accompany Rev. and Mrs. Ross to their new charge on the bank of the Saskatchewan River, some five hundred miles north west of Winnipeg. They set out with high hopes but as travel in those days was not easy, even the section between eastern Ontario and what is now the Manitoba border presented many difficulties. By the time they reached Winnipeg both Rev. and Mrs. Ross were so ill that they could go no further without first resting. Miss Baker, on the other hand, still in excellent health and determined to press on, arranged to travel with a woman and her family going to Edmonton via Prince Albert. This proved to be the most fatiguing part of the journey since it went through unsurveyed areas and followed unmarked trails. But it was by no means a lonely experience for beside the various Indian encampments they passed there were many other people moving west. One might see caravans of fifty to one hundred waggons at a time, in close procession for safety's sake, carrying families in search of new homes.

In describing this phase of the trip. Lucy Baker commented on the scenery, so different from what she had known in the east; on the settlers, all using Red River carts drawn by oxen and Indian ponies as conveyances. She also mentioned the camping out, the cold rainy weather and the heavy buffalo coat which she wore constantly. And of course there were the interesting people she met - especially the Scot who acted as the guide. Those six weeks were a wonderful introduction to life in the new land. The party arrived in Prince Albert on October 28th, 1879 to find the temperature at 28 degrees below zero.

Prince Albert which was to be Miss Baker's home for the remainder of her life was the first Presbyterian Mission to the Indians in the North West, instituted in 1865 by the Canada Presbyterian Church (the Free Church in Canada). In that year the Synod of that body resolved to send one ordained missionary and an interpreter to the Cree Indians. The man chosen to go was Rev. James Nesbit, assistant to Rev. John Black, minister at Kildonan and Fort Garry. His interpreter was John MacKay, a part-Indian buffalo hunter and plainsman.

It was Mr. Nesbit and his companion who selected a site on the Saskatchewan River near an Indian encampment, on which to locate. He also purchased the land, erected crude log buildings, and named the Mission station Prince Albert, in honour of Queen Victoria's Consort, little dreaming that he was founding

a great Canadian city. At that time there was neither house nor settlement within a radius of sixty miles. In the early years the work prospered, though later, according to the Presbyterian Record of April, 1891, the mission to the Crees met with little success because of the migratory character of the native people who were leaving that part of the country in search of buffalo and other game which had vanished as the area began to be opened up to settlement. Some Indians did remain while others came and went. By 1878 even the school was accommodating more white children than Indian. Mr. Nesbit himself predicted this situation. In a report to the Foreign Missions Committee of his church, written in 1874 he stated:

> Only four children are now under the charge of the Mission. Uncertainty in the minds of the native peoples regarding the intention of the government with respect to them is a barrier to progress among them. So much land has been taken up by whites and half-breeds that the Indians feel impatient about their rights.. When the government shall make a treaty with them a reserve will be set up. Should any number of Indians take advantage of such an arrangement the reserve will become the principal place for Indian work ...

Such was the situation at the Prince Albert Mission when Miss Baker arrived that cold October day. She was anxious to begin her work but first she had to find a place

to live. Since no accommodation was available she decided "to keep house by myself in a room of the old mission building inside of the stockade." So began Lucy Baker's life in Prince Albert.

Prince Albert in 1879 was a tiny primitive settlement surrounded by a protective stockade. Its only neighbours were a few Indians and those living at the Hudson Bay Post some three miles upstream. Life from a physical point of view lacked most of the conveniences taken for granted in the east, but with this situation one could cope. It was the climate, severe in the extreme during many months of the year which was hardest to bear. Although not a complainer, Miss Baker does in several letters mention the cold, both inside the buildings as well as out-of-doors.

The period between 1879 and 1885 was one of learning and adapting to the new situation. On arrival Miss Baker at once opened the school, the student body being made up of several Indians, a number of half-breeds and the children of a few white settlers. The classroom was ill equipped, even the most basic needs were lacking. However, not to be discouraged she concentrated on the three Rs. Believing too that all children should have a good grounding in the Scriptures, she included a generous amount of Bible study. She was a fine teacher and gradually the enrolment increased helped on by the constant influx of new settlers.

Then in 1882 the majority of the Cree Indians left Prince Albert, accompanied by Rev. John MacKay the former interpreter now a Presbyterian missionary, to take possession of their recently established reservation called after their chief, the Mistawasis Reserve. The result was a decline in Indian enrolment at the Mission school, the only Crees attending, following the exodus, being the children of the few families who had remained behind or of those who returned for summer work.

Miss Baker's initial reaction to the move was probably one of regret for she had come to love these children and her interest and concern were deep. At the same time she realized that it was for their good since the Indian children could not always keep pace with the white children, many of whom had begun their education in the east. What is more, the capacity of the school was already being taxed by the ever increasing volume of new arrivals. If the children were to receive an adequate education more teachers must be found. In a letter dated March, 1884, she discussed the whole matter, including the fact that the school had changed its character. "Although the school cannot be said to be doing Indian work...it has been a boon established by the F.M.C. which cannot be overstated ...and this in a country where the tendency is to attend to worldly matters regardless of spiritual." In a more personal vein she goes on to say that she has had "to take girl boarders into my house which meant extra housekeeping". Then too there were other duties which she was called upon to assume

such as assisting Rev. McWilliams with Sunday School work, Bible study groups, visits to Indian encampments, nursing, to mention only a few. "My duties are never over until a very late hour, and I am too weary for any further exertion. This has been a heavy task on health and strength." The weather was also an important factor. To rise, to light fires, prepare breakfast for herself and her boarders, and then start off for school while it was still dark, and the temperatures were ranging between 50 and 60 degrees below zero, presented a task too heavy for a woman of fifty years of age. Truly help was needed.

In 1883 a new element was added to Miss Baker's concerns. She wrote:

> A convent was opened in the autumn by five nuns. As there are no Catholic children here, except a few French half-breeds, it may well be called a Jesuitical proselytizing institution... We are trying to hold our children... Christians in the east cannot be too zealous in putting forward every exertion to mould the character of the young people in the North West.

A year later in July 1885 she wrote again on the same subject stating that she is disturbed:

> because Protestant parents are sending their daughters to the convent... This is a sad spectacle, a convent placed in the midst of an old Presbyterian Mission,

> supported entirely by Protestants... This too in a country where the future of a great nation is being moulded, can not help but have disastrous effect...It is important to evangelize the Indians, but equally important to bring into the fold the children of settlers. We must do both. More teachers are urgently needed.

Mrs. Moore of the Presbyterian Mission, Balgonie, also shared this view and later wrote:

> "The Roman Catholics are determined to do all in their power to prevent the Indian children from going to our school and have succeeded in taking a few of our children...I wish I could emphasize the fact that Roman Catholics are determined to make a conquest of the Indians in the North West."

There are other such references to the activities of this group but how well they succeeded is hard to estimate. Some contemporaries of Miss Baker even blame the Catholics for the unrest among the Indians and the half-breeds. But be that as it may, unrest there was which, early in 1885 erupted into armed rebellion, led by Louis Riel.

The busy life of the Presbyterian Mission at Prince Albert was suddenly "thrown into a state of wild confusion, better imagined than described, being cut off from the outside world for months by the outbreak of the Rebellion". In a sense, isolation was not a

new condition, for until the coming of the railway in 1891, letters and papers from the east took weeks to arrive and parcels even longer. But this situation was different, it was war. As many neighbouring Indians joined the rebels there was much warlike activity in the area. It is interesting however to note that the number who followed Riel included only a few Crees, none of whom were living on the Mistewasis Reserve.

Prince Albert, as the only town in the district was fortified by the N.W.M. Police and volunteer soldiers. Frightened settlers from within a radius of twenty miles crowded in for protection, filling all accommodation to overflowing. The Presbyterian Church and Manse were surrounded by a stockade of cord-wood so that women and children would have greater security should the rebels march in. However, although the cry "The Indians are coming" frequently rang out in the streets, Prince Albert was not attacked, the nearest battle being fought at Duck Lake. Miss Baker, who lived directly across from the Manse, gave her house, without charge, to the Government to be used as a hospital. More than this, she herself not only cooked for those who needed food, but also cared for the sick and wounded. One wonders whether or not, as she went about her duties, she was reminded of her experience during the American Civil War.

Following the Rebellion, Miss Baker, exhausted from her strenuous ordeal received a well-deserved furlough in which to regain her strength and visit old friends in the east.

Later in the year however she returned to Prince Albert to take up duties in a new situation.

In 1884, the people of Prince Albert had begun to agitate for a public school, since the area around the old settlement had become a town. Next they petitioned the North West Council to erect the municipality into a school district. To this the Council agreed. In March, 1885, the Mission school became a public school and three elected trustees took control thus virtually terminating the institution founded by James Nesbit. Miss Baker remained as teacher until the end of the school year after which time she joined the staff of the new Prince Albert High School first opened in March of that same year by Messrs. McWilliams and Sinclair, the two Presbyterian ministers in charge of the local work. It was to this position that she came back after her furlough.

This high school was another Presbyterian attempt to meet a need. It began in a small way but grew so rapidly that by 1887 the General Assembly meeting in Winnipeg authorized Rev. Dr. Jardine of Prince Albert to "collect funds to secure incorporation and erect buildings for an Academy of higher education." This school was to be named the Nesbit Academy. Dr. Jardine soon raised $9,000. and by late in 1888 the buildings were ready for occupancy. The unfortunate sequal to the story is however that in the winter of 1889 the school was destroyed by fire. This was reported in 1891 by Dr. James Robertson who concluded his sketch of Prince Albert with reference to Miss Baker, "who for so many years was the efficient teacher

But Miss Baker was never one to seek praise. What is more she had not come to the west simply to teach white children for her chief concern had always been the Indians, especially the Siouxs who had settled near Prince Albert. As early as 1884 she wrote: "we have a band living among us for whom nothing has yet been attempted. While we sit at worship, especially in summer we hear the beating of their drums attended by their heathen dances. Could a teacher speaking their language be sent to them?"

These Indians numbering about one hundred and fifty adults and forty children were Chief Toma's Wahpeton band of Siouxs who had come to Canada some years earlier under the leadership of Sitting Bull to escape the vengeance of the American troops following the 1876 massacre of General George Custer and his command. Sitting Bull returned to the United States in 1881 but some of the bands remained. It was to one of these that Miss Baker was determined to devote herself. The band had not asked for help but moved by their poverty and troubled by the depths to which superstition, as practised by the medicine men had led them, Miss Baker, in spite of warnings that she would be killed, began to make advances, at first to the children then to the adults. But just making contact was difficult for she lived in Prince Albert and each day had to cross the swift-flowing Saskatchewan River in a small boat to reach the tent that at first served as a school. In bad weather the trip was dangerous in the extreme, and in winter it was impossible. Yet in spite of obstacles she persevered.

Gradually through gifts of clothing, food, medicine for the sick, and the help which she gave to the women and children, she began to gain their confidence in spite of the opposition of the medicine men. Always she prayed that "by ministering to their temporal needs we might yet reach them spiritually."

In preparation for work with the Sioux Miss Baker had begun to study their language aided by a grammar and dictionary prepared by Rev. S.R. Briggs and a translation of the Bible on which he and the Rev. Thomas Williamson collaborated. It was a mammoth task but one that bore fruit, for once able to communicate, her relationship with the Sioux improved noticeably.

Although hampered by a lack of school supplies the children began to show progress. However the parents still remained suspicious. Realizing that everything taught in the classroom was repeated to the adults, and fearing lest her words should be misinterpreted or misunderstood, she adopted the policy of giving instruction in both English and Sioux, and also insisting that all lessons must be written out in the two languages. As a result the parents began to lose their hostility and even to show a willingness to listen to Bible stories. On her frequent visits to the encampment she made friends with the adults, especially the women to whom she taught many household skills. It was with considerable pleasure that she was later able to write that "there is improvement in the appearance of the children who come to school, and the homes too are neater and tolerably clean." There is also evidence that

Miss Baker taught carpentry to the men.

As time went on it was borne in on Miss Baker that unless the Sioux Indians had land of their own they would continue to be a nomadic people with no stability or sense of belonging. Things moved slowly, but finally thanks to her influence and persistence, negotiations with the Government began which resulted in 1895 in the granting of land to them, known as the Makoce Waste or later as the Round Plain Reserve, located ten miles north east of Prince Albert. A mission house and a school were erected and there, according to Jean H. Cockburn of Prince Albert, Miss Baker lived and continued her work, establishing day and Sunday schools and conducting religious services, latterly with the assistance of Miss Annie Cameron and Miss Christina MacKay.

Miss Baker was not an elderly woman. Although she had suffered great hardships and her health was failing, she still carried on. However, in 1907 illness forced her to return to her home in Prince Albert where she lived for the last two years of her life. Although many of the Sioux did not accept Christianity, Miss Baker was loved and respected by all those who knew her, and called by Indians throughout the area Winoocha Waken, or the Holy Woman. Nor did they soon forget her for years later when Prince Albert celebrated its Jubilee, "her" Indians carried a picture of Miss Baker in the parade.

On May 30th, 1909, Lucy Margaret Baker died in the Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal,

and was buried in the cemetery of Zion Presbyterian Church, Dundee, Quebec. She had become a legend in Canada. Tributes paid to her memory by the press, the Church, and friends were many and varied. Some of these could well be quoted here but it seems more fitting to conclude with an excerpt from one of her letters that appeared in the Monthly Letter Leaflet during 1891.

> "If in God's hands I have been an humble instrument in helping to extend His Kingdom in this "lone land" I am sincerely thankful. True, as you say, it is only the few, comparatively, who can go to the front, but it is not as equally true that the knowledge of a noble army, Aaron-and-Hur like, engaged in earnest prayer for the speedy coming of His Kingdom, enables those who are in the conflict to go forward, thus enabling them to be more than conquerors through Him who loved us."

John Morton (1839-1912)

The Founder of the Trinidad Mission

by Geoffrey Johnston

The Presbyterian Church in Canada may have had greater missionaries than John Morton, but few of greater significance. Because he founded and led the first reasonably successful mission to the East Indians in Trinidad, because his work subsequently overflowed into other parts of the Caribbean, and because the East Indians are the largest minority in the British Caribbean, his work has been of unusual importance, not only in the life of the Indian community itself, but in the history of the countries where they are of particular significance, Trinidad and Guyana.

The East Indians were the basis of nineteenth century prosperity in Trinidad and Guyana. Emancipation of the negro slaves found both these colonies with quantities of land not yet in sugar. The newly freed slaves, understandably would choose almost any alternative to tending cane, and where land was available they bought, or acquired, small properties and set up as small farmers, or as traders, working for the sugar estates whenever it suited their convenience. Unfortunately sugar in the nineteenth century, and to a great extent even now, is a crop which requires large

quantities of very reliable labour. When the crop is ripe it must be cut. When it is cut it must be milled. Without labour both in the field and the factory the sugar proprietors were in a bad way. And labour, consistent and reliable, the Blacks refused to supply, forcing the planters to find alternatives.

They cast their net wide. Portugese, Africans, Chinese were all tried and found wanting. Even the first experiments with Indians were a failure, but in the early fifties they tried again, with the system on a better footing, and it ran without a break till its final abolition in 1917. In contrast to the slave trade, private initiative was rigourously excluded. Recruitment, transport and distribution of labour were all carried out under public supervision, according to standards probably not unreasonable for the time. Once in the West Indies, the Indians were expected to work from five to ten years, for a known minimum wage, free housing and medical care, and some clothing thrown in. In return they were subject to a discipline so strict as to make some critics compare the system to slavery. Certainly it was no bed of roses, but at least it was temporary, and with ample supplies of cheap labour the sugar barons of Trinidad and Guyana went on to fame and fortune. Give us coolies enough, they said, and we will grow sugar to feed the world.

But the Indians were an unassimilated community. In the first place they tended to live together on the sugar estates, but of more importance, they and the older inhabitants, ex-slaves for the most part, regarded each

other with a generally peaceful but nonetheless real antipathy. To the Blacks the Indians were "coolies", people who would take on the work the Blacks refused to do, and accept a discipline reminiscent of the slavery banished from the islands in 1838. For the Indians the Blacks were literally out-castes, outside the pale of the caste system altogether, a foreign people, speaking an unintelligible language and behaving in inexplicable ways. Language, caste and culture all combined to keep the Indians and the Blacks apart.

It was to this situation that Morton first came in 1864. John Morton was an almost archetypal Presbyterian; his parents had been Scottish immigrants to Pictou county, Nova Scotia, and he was reared in the home of godly Scottish farmers. His father was an elder, and his mother an ardent supporter of overseas missions. Indeed, it was from her that John first heard of missionaries, and conceived the idea that he might be one himself some day.

But in the meantime, life was rather more pedestrian. From school at Little Harbour and Albion Mines (Stellarton) he went on to the Free Church College at Halifax in 1855, graduating in 1861. From Halifax he moved along the coast to Bridgewater, where he was appointed a probationer, and ordained to the charge in December 1861. Two years later he married a lady of Anglican persuasion, Sarah Silver, who lived to write his biography, and survived, though at a great age, to the silver jubilee of the Trinidad Mission.

JOHN MORTON

Few things occurred to disturb the even tenor of a country minister's life. John Geddie, of the New Hebrides, asked him to join the staff there, but he declined, feeling that his call had not yet come. It came in one of God's odder ways. Morton caught diptheria, and while he survived, it left his throat affected, and rather than face the rigours of a Maritime winter, he took passage in the Micmac, out of Bridgewater for the West Indies, in November 1864.

The price of oak staves, he tells us, took the ship and him to Trinidad, where with nothing in particular to do he wandered through the countryside, "and was particularly drawn to the East Indians, of whom there were about 20,000 in the island". It does not sound like a large figure, but twenty years earlier, there had been none at all, and a few years later, in 1871, the census reported 27,425 or 25% of the population. Morton's concern was that a quarter of the people in this British, Christian colony were being ignored by the church. Despite some noble efforts here and there the churches, by and large, had accepted the sharp distinction between East and West Indians, and left the former alone.

Morton spent four months in Trinidad, part of the time pressing the needs of the Indians on the Presbyterians then in the island, representing two branches of the Scottish church, and managed to get a promise of partial support from one of the sugar barons. On his way home he urged the United

Presbyterian Church in the United States to revive their defunct mission station at Iere Village as a mission to the East Indians. Apparently not very encouraged with either effort, he broached the matter with his own church, the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America.

In the last case, the matter wandered in committee for a couple of years, but nothing happened till Morton took the bull by the horns and offered to go himself. When the Americans came through with an offer of their premises at Iere, if Morton would look after the small congregation of Blacks in the area, the last obstacle was removed. The Presbytery of Trinidad received the news of Morton's imminent arrival to start a "coolie" mission with "entire satisfaction", and on January 3rd, 1868, Morton, his wife and his daughter arrived in Port of Spain, somewhat the worse for wear after an extremely rough passage.

Their first home was Iere village, back of San Fernando, where the American mission had been, and well within reach of many East Indians. The Scots predicted that Morton would not be long in Iere, and they were right, but it was here that he cut his teeth in the new work, settled down to language study, opened the first school, and began the process of building up contacts and confidence, both among the Indians and the planters. It was here also that he first met Charles Clarence Soodeen, the first Indian teacher and till the end of his life a staunch elder in the Presbyterian Church.

JOHN MORTON

The details of Morton's career need not detain us long. In 1871 Mrs. Morton's health drove them to San Fernando, where for a few years they shared a collegiate ministry with K.J. Grant, the second missionary appointment from Canada. In 1875 he moved back to the neighbourhood of Iere, eventually to a place called Princestown, and resumed specifically rural work again. Six years later, when their staff had enlarged somewhat, he moved north to Tunapuna, a village at the foot of the northern range, on the way between Port of Spain and the Atlantic coast. It was here that he spent the rest of his life, dying in the village in 1912.

At the same time as the mission was becoming established in Trinidad, news of their work spread throughout the West Indies, and they found themselves supervising work far from home. The first venture was a survey of the situation in British Guiana in 1880, but the first permanent expansion was to St. Lucia in 1883, followed by an opening in Grenada in 1885. Also in 1885 John Gibson went from Canada to British Guiana, but he died in 1888, and the work was taken up by John Slater, a Scottish minister in the colony. It was not till 1896 that the Canadian connection was resumed in the person of J.B. Cropper, the real founder of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in BG, now known as the Guyana Presbyterian Church. Cropper was not, in fact, a Canadian, but a West Indian white, who had been Assistant Protector of Immigrants in St Lucia, and, in his spare time the local agent for the Canadian Mission. When the Indian work in St Lucia ran down, Cropper went to school in Halifax, became a

minister and entered the service of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. In the 1890s, the Jamaican Church became interested in work among Indians, and the Canadians obliged with occasional visits, some East Indian staff, and the use of their college for the training of Jamaicans. This work was, and is, a part of their programme. That in BG was finally separated, in theory as well as in fact from Trinidad by the division of overseas fields in 1927. St Lucia ran out of Indians around the turn of the century and what was left of the work went to the Methodists. The churches in Grenada remain a part of the Presbyterian Church of Trinidad and Grenada.

Morton's significance can thus be seen. Not only did he pioneer the work in Trinidad, but through his colleagues and successors, the same ideas and patterns of work were spread through the British Caribbean wherever there were enough Indians to warrant it. Compared to India, China or even Nigeria, it may be a relatively small pond, but in that pond, Morton was a very large frog.

Morton is especially important because the patterns he set were the definitive ones. K.J. Grant varied them somewhat for the circumstances of the only town in the mission, but most people followed the outlines Morton established in the first few years, the combination of church and school.

Once the cooperation of the proprietor had been secured, the work went ahead on both fronts. For the children of the labour force a primary school was established, offering the

rudiments of religion and literature five days a week. In the evenings, and on Sunday, the teacher, and the evangelist, if there was one, preached on the street corners, visited the hospitals, and conducted regular diets of public worship. So important and time consuming did the schools become that one would almost believe that the Canadian mission was an educational one pure and simple. Indeed, Morton remarked after ten years work that half his baptisms had come, directly or indirectly, through the school. If that was the case, then the other half did not, but were the result of street corner disputations, the hospital visits, and the Sunday services.

The system naturally created problems as it grew, the most pressing of which was staff. Once it began to work, there was soon more to do than the missionary could handle, and early on Morton began teaching his more promising students in off hours, trying to bring them to a reasonable standard of education. This method lasted for over twenty years, till the government became interested in teacher training, and offered to pay the bill. A formal Teacher's Training College was then begun in San Fernando, under the care of K.J. Grant. In the same way, the need for better theological training became pressing, and after some disagreement as to how to go about it, a college was opened, also in San Fernando, with Morton as its principal. It was an ingenious arrangement. All the students were evangelists, and all the teachers were district missionaries, excepting only Lal Bihari, Grant's colleague.

In order to keep the district going, and to avoid succumbing to the Indians alleged metaphysical tendencies, both staff and students alternated between the college and the districts. Three men were ordained in a few years, but it was not for another twenty-five, and a thorough reorganization of the college that any more ministers appeared on the lists.

Theologically, Morton was conservative. There is little evidence that he thought much about theological questions in the traditional sense at all, and when he did, he does not seem to have been troubled much by either higher criticism or the social gospel. For him the basic problem for the East Indians, as for all men was neither social nor economic but spiritual, alienation from God through sin and all its manifestations. Fortunately his constituents agreed on the question. Hinduism is, among other things, a system of salvation. Morton had no great sympathy for Hinduism as such, and he could be rather supercilious about some of its more popular forms, but he did respect the esteem in which it was held by the Indians, and if anyone wanted to discuss the basic issues, the authority of the sacred texts, cosmology, sin, salvation and saviour, then Morton tried to meet him fairly and courteously. So also his disciples, and the literature of the nineteenth century is littered with accounts of street corner disputations, omitting, or course, the ones in which the evangelist came off worst.

As in theology, so also in secular affairs, Morton tended to be conservative.

He did not question the wisdom of the British Empire. On the contrary he pointed with pride to the fact that Trinidadians and Canadians shared a common British citizenship, "a fact of present and practical importance". In line with the tendency of the times to think in racial terms, he called the Indians "Anglo-Saxons toasted in the Indian sun". But he did not share the fundamental scepticism about Indians that sometimes crops up in the literature of the times. On the contrary, he had a very high regard for them as people, especially when they got their feet under them and became successful bussinessmen or farmers. Like most of his colleagues, Morton was, in principle at least, pro-Indian. He was also pro-planter. He saw nothing wrong with plantation agriculture, and was prepared to argue the planters' case in the commercial difficulties of the late nineteenth century, and indeed to defend indenture, the system of contract labour by which the Indians came to Trinidad, in the columns of a Halifax newspaper, against a traveller who had compared it to slavery. Many of the planters he knew as friends, and on all of them he was dependent for access to as many of the Indians as worked in their sugar fields. But there is no evidence that he had, so to speak, been bought out. Conservative in theology and politics, there is no reason for surprise if he was conservative in economics as well.

On the other hand he was a keen supporter of the movement by the Indians, off the plantations and into independent farming. Shortly before his arrival the Trinidad government "unlocked" the Crown Lands, that is opened the

unalienated parts of the island to all comers at reasonable rates. East Indians, if they chose, could take up land as an alternative to the free passage back to India to which they were entitled after ten years work. Morton was tracking people down in the forests as early as 1870, commenting that men who had abandoned their country had taken the first step towards abandoning the false gods of their country. But while his first interest was evangelical, his concern went beyond that. Morton was always a farmer at heart. He was something of an expert at growing yams, a founding member of the Trinidad Agricultural Society, and for some time Chairman of the Local Road Board. Late in his life he described in glowing terms the work of East Indian pioneers cutting down the forests in the valleys of the northern range and opening the land for cocoa. Friend of the planters he may have been, but he was even more a friend of the small proprietors.

But for all his praise of the Indians as a race, as a community and as assistants, Morton was slow indeed to ordain men to the ministry. The first East Indian minister, Lal Bihari, was a life long friend and colleague of K.J. Grant. Grant settled down as minister in San Fernando, in Susamachar Church, and left most of the out-station work to Lal Bihari. Morton, on the other hand, never saw himself as a minister to an Indian congregation. He was a missionary, forever breaking new ground and supervising a large staff of Indian preachers and teachers. Early in his career he attracted three of his contemporaries to the

service, and they were ordained in the early 1890s. But they were the last, and they all died before Morton. When Morton was gathered to his fathers the only Indian minister left was the aging Lal Bihari, and there was no elder of real standing in the church other than C.C. Soodeen, who had been Morton's first teacher.

Morton had all the strengths and weaknesses of a true imperialist; gifted and masterful, he went to Trinidad confident in himself, in the society and the faith he represented. This confidence led him, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to do great things for the Lord. But it also seems to have blinded him to the gifts and graces of men less commanding than himself. He never entrusted the East Indian ministers in his district with the responsibilities that Grant happily handed over to Lal Bihari. A dominant personality like Morton is not an altogether unmixed blessing.

But it is no condemnation of the man to observe that he was a normal human being and shared the limitations of his age. Morton was a great and gifted minister, a man who broke new ground that badly needed tilling, and established a church that has endured and given a string of gifted men to Christianity in the West Indies. Further, through the school system that he founded, almost instinctively, the church has been one of the major positive cultural contacts between the Indians and Trinidad society, enabling generations of Indians to respond creatively to their new society, and find their feet in the western world.

John Bethune

The Founder of Presbyterianism in Upper Canada
by James MacKenzie

"For he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith: and much people was added unto the Lord." Acts 11:24.

John Bethune was the founder of Montreal's first Presbyterian church and Ontario's pioneer Presbyterian preacher. He was born on the misty Isle of Skye in 1751, and raised in the Parish of Sleat under the ministry of John MacPherson, of whom it is rightly written, "He was distinguished above all his contemporaries in the Highlands as a man of talent and learning." John MacPherson and his son, the Rev. Martin MacPherson, looked upon Bethune almost as a son and younger brother, and loved him into the Kingdom and service of God. They impressed upon him the importance of learning and truth, and encouraged him to follow their example and continue his education at King's College, Aberdeen.

He returned home from his studies to find the people of Skye planning almost en-masse to leave their lovely island and settle in North Carolina. Their chief and his tacksmen had lost all touch with their people, and couldn't care less. Their clansmen had become to them but a source of revenue, and for this they had raised their rents until rent exceeded income. With callous indifference the poor were starved-out; forced to leave their homes and the homes of their fathers for generations beyond memory, and set sail for new homes in a new land. "The best of the inhabitants (of Skye)", wrote the celebrated Flora MacDonald

on the twelfth of August, 1772, "are making ready to follow their friends to America while they have anything to bring there; and among the rest we are to go, especially as we cannot promise ourselves but poverty and oppression. We have hardly what will pay our creditors, which we are to let them have and begin the world anew in another corner of it".

In May 1771 it was reported that "two-thousand emigrants are preparing for their departure from the Island of Skye...They are all of the estate of Sir Alexander MacDonald (of Sleat) who may chance to be a proprietor without tenants". Nor was it only the unskilled and poor who were planning to leave the island. Among the two-thousand were "a parochial preacher" and "a thoroughbred surgeon". The parochial preacher was John Bethune.

This group requested a grant of forty-thousand acres on which to establish a colony, but the powers-that-were turned them down because they considered it unwise to encourage the emigration of "persons of substance and ability". Nevertheless, they were all in North Carolina by 1774.

John Bethune came over as early as 1773, as a licentiate of the Church of Scotland. Here, on McLendon's Creek in what is now Moore County, he settled with his mother, Christian, and his maternal grandparents, Donald Campbell of Scalpay, and Donald's wife, Katherine. Three decades earlier, old Donald had saved the Bonnie Prince from capture; but now he was a man of eighty summers, and the burden of support thus fell upon the shoulders of his

young grandson.

Only a few short years remained before the outbreak of the American War of Independence, but John Bethune spent them ministering to the Highland settlers in their native Gaelic tongue, and in the course of his work organized the present-day Mount Carmel Presbyterian Church near Ellerbe, North Carolina.

A letter he had written to a friend on the mainland just prior to his departure came to the attention of the Gaelic Bard of Kintail, John MacRae (Iain MacMhurchaidh), who was inspired by news of the good hunting and fishing to be found in the New World to write a song, "Thainig litir bho Iain Peutan" (There came a letter from John Bethune):

> There came a letter from John Bethune
> Which has given joy to one who has not seen it.
> A few of my country people about to depart to a land of plenty,
> Where we can find every kind of the most delightful hunting that could be seen.
> We shall find deer, buck and doe,
> With permission to take as many as we want...
> We shall get salmon and whitefish,
> And gray fish if it will please us better...
>
> Let us go and charter a ship.
> Let us depart, all of us,
> For small is my esteem for a man of no courage.

JOHN BETHUNE

This song persuaded an entire shipload of MacRaes, with a few MacKenzies thrown in for luck, to come over and fish for salmon in McLendon's Creek. Some of these remained in North Carolina, and their descendants still occupy the land on which they settled. Others, United Empire Loyalists, later took up land in Glengarry, Ontario, where their descendants still live.

Early in 1776, North Carolina Highlanders loyal to the King formed a regiment and started out for the coast "to join Governor Martin to get Arms, and to Act under him until we had an opportunity of joining the Army at Boston". John Bethune went along as their Chaplain. Alas, they never made it! They were intercepted at Moore's Creek Bridge by Americans, who got there first, set up a defensive position on the opposite side of the stream, removed the planks from the bridge, and greased the two log beams that remained. Bethune and other officers were taken prisoner, and sent to Philadelphia for confinement.

Fortunately, their imprisonment was not of long duration. October 17, 1776, the Continental Congress "resolved that the prisoners from North Carolina be permitted to return to their families if the Convention of that State shall be of the opinion they may do so without danger to that or any of the United States, and in the meantime that bedding, blankets and other necessaries be furnished the gaoler by Mr. Mease for the use of such prisoners as are unproved with them".

To this the prisoners added their own plea

and promise, in a letter to the North Carolina Convention, dated two weeks later, October 31, 1776:

> Gentlemen: After a long separation of eight months from our Families and Friends, We the undersubscribers, Prisoners of War from North Carolina now in Philadelphia Prison, think ourselves justifiable at this period in applying to your Honours for permission to return to our Families, which indulgence we will promise on the Faith and Honour of Gentlemen not to abuse, by interfering in the present disputes, or aiding or assisting your Enemies by word, writing or action.
>
> This request we have already laid before Congress who are willing to grant it providing they have your approbation.
>
> Hoping therefore that you have no particular intention to distress us more than others you have treated with Indulgence, we flatter ourselves that your determinations will prove no obstruction to our Enlargement on the above terms; and have transmitted to you the enclosed Copy of the Resolve of Congress in our favor, which if you countenance; it will meet with the warmest acknowledgements of Gent.
>
> Your most obedt & humble servts (sixteen names, including that of John Bethune).

This letter was accompanied by another, from William Hooper, North Carolina Delegate to the Continental Congress, who wrote in part, "Their confinement, tho' accompanied with every circumstance of humanity which the publick security will admit of must however as the

Winter advances become more irksome, from a scarcity of cloathing an inconvenience which at this time it will be most difficult to beare."

Upon his release, Bethune made his way to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he was made Chaplain to the First Batallion of The Royal Highland Emigrants, a unit made up primarily of Gaelic speaking Highlanders who had settled in that area. On November 23, 1778, because he was "in some distress for want of money," and in order "to ease his difficulties", he was appointed Chaplain to the entire regiment by Captain Alexander MacDonald, who described him as "A young man of very good character tho' a presbyterian."

During his years in Nova Scotia he met, and married on September 30, 1782, Veronica Wadden, a native of Switzerland, and daughter of a professor at the University of Geneva.

After the Peace, the Bethunes took up residence in Montreal, along with other United Empire Loyalists. "A man of noble countenance, dignified presence, and engaging manners, as well as of a chivalrous spirit, he soon attracted to himself his fellow countrymen resident in Montreal and vicinity. As a loyalist who had suffered for his king and his native land, he exercised great influence among the British portion of the citizens of all creeds." As these rallied to him as their leader, he drew them together as the first Presbyterian congregation in the city, the St. Gabriel Street Church. Here he preached from March 12, 1786 until May 6, 1787, when he and his family moved to Upper Canada.

JOHN BETHUNE

While he was in Montreal, about 1784 or 1785, his mother, Christian Bethune, passed away down in Moore County, North Carolina. Her minister son had not seen her since that day so long before he had marched away to War.

Lack of support is given as one reason for the Bethunes' leaving Montreal. More basic to their decision was the lure of land, which was being granted to United Empire Loyalists in appreciation for their services during the War. As a chaplain, ranking with a captain, John was entitled to three-thousand acres. With their settlement in Williamstown, Glengarry County, Bethune began his ministry to the Highlanders there, thus becoming the pioneer Presbyterian minister in what is now Ontario. A faithful and zealous evangelist and pastor, he soon organized churches, not only at Williamstown, but also at Martintown, Summerstown, Cornwall and Lancaster.

Although for many years he suffered from a cough which "showed a weakness of the lungs", which may have been brought on by his extended stay in Philadelphia, John Bethune was an untiring servant of his Lord and his people. On a gray mare famed in story, he rode many miles east to Coteau in Lower Canada, west to Cornwall, and crossed the St. Lawrence River in summer by boat and in winter on the ice to Dundee, Quebec. When he was at home on a Sunday the church bell was rung at eight o'clock in the morning, and again at ten and eleven, to remind his neighbors that it was the Sabbath Day. This custom is still observed at Williamstown.

JOHN BETHUNE

The Bethunes never became encumbered much with this world's wealth, having little more to live on than his half pay as a retired chaplain. Still, they managed to raise and launch a large family of six stalwart sons and three daughters of whom any parents could be proud.

Like the others, that first "meeting house" at Williamstown was a plain, unpretentious log building, sans flying buttresses, grinning gargoyles and lofty steeple. Nor was there any organ or piano there, for the good people inside did not believe in using instrumental music in the worship of God. There were no hymnbooks, for they did not believe in hymns, either. They sang only the Psalms of David, which had long since been rendered into verse form and set to music. There was no carpet down the center aisle, if there was a center aisle, and no upholstered pulpit furniture. Neither were there pews as such, but only rough hewn planks resting on cedar blocks. But the Spirit and love of God were there, and this was enough for them.

During the week the building was used as a school.

It was Bethune who introduced to Ontario the Scottish custom of using Communion tokens. These were coins distributed by the Session to members deemed "worthy" to be served the Sacrament, and used as tickets of admission to the Lord's Supper Service. One of the old Bethune tokens dating back to 1794 may be seen in the collection of the United Theological College in Montreal.

JOHN BETHUNE

On one occasion a dispute arose between pastor and people, and it was decided to submit the matter to Bishop Alexander MacDonell, their respected Roman Catholic neighbor at nearby St. Raphael's. After hearing both sides the good man ruled as he probably intended to all along, in favor of his Protestant counterpart, and lectured the Presbyterian congregation on the duty of respect and obedience in the Lord they owed to their ecclesiastical superior. Fortunately, the members of the congregation were good Christians. They received the admonition with becoming humility, and the breach was healed.

Lord Selkirk stopped at the manse on Sunday, January 22, 1804. In his diary he describes Bethune as "a worthy character by all accounts - & of so much influence with the people that his Son in law, Wilkinson, tho' English, is expected to be a candidate for the county."

The patriotic concerns of his youth returned to occupy John Bethune again at the other end of his life. He and Bishop MacDonell were with Red George MacDonell when he crossed the ice to capture Ogdensburg, New York during the War of 1812. Again, his name is second on the list of the loyal address presented to Lt. General Sir Gordon Drummond, Governor of the Province of Upper Canada on the twenty-first of December, 1814. Only the name of Bishop MacDonell preceded his

Up until the very end of his long and useful career, Bethune managed to stay busy in the business of his Lord. A letter from him to

Mr. James Reid of St. Amand, Lower Canada, dated at Williamstown, 20th April, 1814, deals with the problems of raising funds to pay for "the meeting house at McMartin's Mills". This letter was in response to a letter from Reid, to whom the money was owed, and who had written requesting payment. Bethune assured him that his letter was "without loss of time laid before the Trustees; and on your account, as well as on that of the Congregation, I am happy to inform you that the money is now in a fair way of being speedily paid."

Another letter, dated at Williamstown, September 16, 1815, reveals his declining health and his continuing concern for his people:

> To the members of the Presbyterian Congregation at Williamstown and of the other congregations connected with them in Glengarry -
>
> My state of health is so precarious and I am so advanced in life that I cannot reasonably promise to myself many more days, let the event of my present indisposition be ever so favourable.
>
> For several years past I have had many anxious thoughts about the destitute state in which you must be left when it should please God to call me away but I forebore saying anything about the subject under the impression that my declining years and growing infirmities would necessarily point out to yourselves the propriety of engaging a minister who might, in the first instance,

be an assistant and do such parts of the duty as were above my strength, and who, to diminish as much as possible his expense to the congregation, might extend his service further than the present limits and finally succeed to the whole charge.

But in this expectation I have been disappointed. There is to this day, no more thought of providing a minister, than there was twenty years ago, and there is as great an apathy respecting this essential measure as if it were certain that I should outlive the whole congregation. In this state of things I consider it a duty I owe you to lift my feeble voice in this manner and warn you of the pernicious consequences to yourselves and your families of lukewarmness in this serious business.

Bestir yourselves, therefore, to take measures of precaution and let not a miserable parsimony persuade you to shrink back from the attainment of an object so essential to your well-being in that state where money has no value nor currency. You must allow that the blessing of God has prospered your industry and that events calamitous to many others have been beneficial to you. No excuse, therefore, can be sustained for want of means. The only real want there can be is want of will. In every community to some extent there will be poor and distressed, without any fault of their own. Among you the number is small, and if it were greater, the more wealthy must in every public business fill up the deficiency, for under all governments

and salutary institutions, the rich always pay for the poor, and they have reason to bless God that they were able to do it.

Your affectionate and
faithful servant,
John Bethune.

John Bethune understood his congregation, and he made very certain that they understood him!

Just a week later, September 23, 1815, he went to be with his Lord, whom he had served so long and so well, and the Montreal Gazette memorialized him as "a man remarkable for the agreeableness of his manners, but in no time deficient in that spirit which is requisite for the support of a Christian and a gentleman. He understood what was due to 'the powers that be', without losing sight of the respect which was due to himself. He has left a widow and numerous family, but the place they hold in society will show that as a husband and father he must be remembered among those who have done their duty well."

Bethune kept complete records of births, baptisms and weddings. While in Glengarry he baptized 2,379 persons. During his entire ministry he baptized 2,576, some of these being Negro slaves. This is an almost unbelieveable average of more than one each week!

Alas, there seems to be no record of his ordination; if, indeed, he ever was formally ordained. According to Scottish records, he emigrated as a "licentiate". There is no

record he was ordained while in Carolina, and it would have been impossible for him to be ordained at that time in Nova Scotia or Quebec. Neither was there a presbytery in Ontario until many years after he settled there - years in which he kept busy organizing churches, and baptizing and marrying people all over the place. Never mind, presbytery or no presbytery, he was chosen and ordained of God, and this is of first importance.

He is buried in the churchyard at Williamstown. But he, being dead, yet speaketh. In later years a monument to his memory was erected by his six sons, Angus, Norman, John, James, Alexander and Donald. On one side they had inscribed, "Sacred to the memory of the Rev. John Bethune, Pastor to the congregation of the Kirk of Scotland in Glengarry. He departed this life at Williamstown on the 23rd of September, 1815, in the 66th year of his age and the 44th of his ministry."

On the opposite side we read:

"That he was a faithful steward, the peace and happiness of his flock are the most certain proof.

That he was eminently endeared by those conciliating endearing qualities which united society in the closest bonds of unanimity and friendship, his numerous congregation, who shed the tribute of unfeigned sorrow over his grave, have borne the most honorable testimony.

That he was open, generous and sincere,

those who participated in his friendship can afford the most satisfactory evidence.

That he was a kind and affectionate husband, a tender and indulgent parent, the love and unanimity of his numerous family furnish the most undeniable proof."

JOHN BETHUNE

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Thomas McCulloch

Pioneer Educationalist of Nova Scotia

by Bruce MacDonald

History is composed of two ingredients, men and events. Each component complements the other, and neither can truly be regarded per se as history. Man shapes events, and yet is also influenced by them. The art of biography can provide us with key insights into our past, by illuminating this relationship between man and events, especially when the figure studied played a prominent role in the events of his day. The Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch was such a man.

Thomas McCulloch was born in Renfrewshire, Scotland, in 1776. After receiving his elementary education at a local school, he proceeded to the study of Arts and Medicine at the University of Glasgow, but for reasons unknown never obtained a degree. An Antiburgher Presbyterian by birth, McCulloch decided to enter the Secession Divinity Hall, Whitburn, and undertake the theological training for the Presbyterian ministry. He was licensed by the Presbytery at Kilmarnock, and in 1799, at the age of 23, was called to the Secession Church congregation at Stewarton.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the state of the Presbyterian Church in British North America was indeed fragile. There was a small number of Presbyterian Scots scattered throughout the colonies; the Church was yet in its infancy, though destined for a rapid expansion, particularly with the Scottish immigration which followed the Peace of Amiens (1802-1803), and reached flood proportions

after 1815.

There was a particular concentration of Presbyterian Scots in the Pictou region of Nova Scotia. The nucleus of this settlement had arrived in 1773, on board the Hector. It was in response to an appeal from the Pictou Presbyterians to the General Associate Synod of Scotland in 1784, that the young Reverend James Drummond MacGregor sailed for Nova Scotia in 1786, to minister to the Presbyterian congregation in the Pictou area.

After labouring alone for nine years, MacGregor was joined by the Rev. Duncan Ross, and the Associate Presbytery of Nova Scotia (Antiburgher) was established. There was constant need for new ministers in the Maritime area, and MacGregor undertook many missionary journeys to distant settlements in Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, his efforts resulting in many new Presbyterian congregations. It was in response to the many appeals of the Associate Presbytery of Nova Scotia for ministerial aid from Scotland that Thomas McCulloch decided to seek his fortunes in British North America, and minister to a congregation in P.E.I.

Arriving in Pictou in November 1803, McCulloch and his wife Isabella were persuaded that the journey across the Northumberland Strait was too hazardous to undertake at that time of year. When the residents of Pictou discovered the presence of an educated Presbyterian minister in their midst, they lost no time in persuading him to take up residence amongst them, and in June 1804 McCulloch was

inducted as pastor of the Pictou Harbour congregation. Unforseen circumstances had combined to place McCulloch in Pictou, where he would spend thirty-five years labouring for the achievement of his goals.

Thus, in 1803, Thomas McCulloch found himself in a pioneer society where "...men struggling for food, have little time to expend upon the pursuits of Literature. But there is a danger that the modes of thinking and habits, which arise out of such a stage of society, may remain long after it is past; and imperceptibly enfeeble the community, amidst increasing means of energy the prosperity of a country is as closely connected with progress in the system of education, as the increase of conveniences, with the improvement of (the pioneer's) farm..."

McCulloch's emphasis on the importance of education in the advancement of society is not surprising, particularly when his background is considered. Trained in a Scottish university, he was aware of the eighteenth century Scottish tradition in education, which one historian has summarized in the following manner:

> "...a fairly well developed national system of education, a close connection between religion and education, an emphasis on philosophy as a basis for learning, the ideal of general principles rather than details, the ideal of the all round educated gentleman with a general background, the democratic belief that all should have the same opportunities, and the emphasis upon the academic

> pattern..." (R.A. MacLean, "Scottish influences in Higher Education in Nova Scotia", unpub'd ms.)

Not only was McCulloch's background Scottish; it was also strongly Presbyterian. He was a member of the Secession which had split with the Church of Scotland over the question of Church patronage, and the role of the congregation in the selection of ministers; no doctrinal matters of faith were involved in the dispute. The Presbyterians, unlike the rest of their dissenting brethren in Nova Scotia, possessed and maintained the tradition of a highly-educated and well-trained ministry. All the Presbyterian ministers received formal theological training, usually after having completed a university education. Both MacGregor and McCulloch were highly-educated men, the former excelling in Gaelic poetry, and the latter in more vigorous literary pursuits, ranging from the satirical "Stepsure Letters", to his dissertions upon Calvinist Theology. Both men were honored in later years, with honorary Doctorates of Divinity. McCulloch's interest in education was thus in keeping with his Scottish Presbyterian background.

McCulloch's interests, however, went beyond the cause of combatting ignorance and illiteracy in a pioneer society; he was also concerned with the promotion of the Presbyterian Church in British North America. He quickly perceived that a colonial Church could not depend upon Scotland for a continuous supply of trained ministers, especially when ministerial prospects in the

British Isles were much more attractive. If the evangelizing work of missionaries such as MacGregor was to be carried to completion in the colonies, provision had to be made for the training of a native ministry. Having recently arrived in British North America, McCulloch had experienced at first hand the hardships of pioneer life, and did not need to be persuaded of the difficulty of Scottish-trained ministers adapting to the missionary life of the colonies. The solution was obvious: if no competent ministers could be obtained in Britain, why not train the sons of British North American pioneers for the ministry? These young men were born and raised in the pioneer environment, and would not have to adapt to it. Thus, from the outset, McCulloch's interest in education and his concern for the advancement of the Presbyterian faith went hand in hand:

> "...From a conviction...that it was (sic) become absolutely necessary and our indispensible duty to use the means for preparing preachers among ourselves... and as it is reasonable to suppose that men of piety who are sensible and well-informed will be better qualified than others to explain and enforce the doctrines of religion it is our intention to afford them the means of instruction in the usual branches of a liberal and learned education...We trust that we are preparing the first fruits of a race of faithful ministers of the gospel who will edify the church, plant it in the wilderness and be the means of salvation to generations unborn..."

THOMAS McCULLOCH

(T. McCulloch, On Education, McCulloch Papers, Pictou Academy.)

While he was concerned that pioneer society must utilize education to advance itself beyond a "primitive" stage, he was also deeply interested in the progress of the colonial Presbyterian Church towards a position of established strength.

In 1805, McCulloch commenced his efforts for the accomplishment of his goals in education and religion, with the establishment of a school in Pictou. This was the first stage, not only in the training of a native ministry, but also in establishing a proper educational system in Nova Scotia, for it would provide youths with the educational background necessary for ministerial training and/or a higher education. In 1811, another major step was accomplished, when the Nova Scotia Government passed a Grammar School Act, which called for the establishment of grammar schools in the seven counties and three districts of the colony. McCulloch's school was selected as the grammar school for the Pictou area; he was appointed head instructor, and provided with an annual grant of 100 pounds sterling. As the school continued to expand, McCulloch's reputation attracted students from all parts of Nova Scotia, the surrounding colonies, and even the West Indies!

By 1815, McCulloch was prepared to undertake the establishment of an institution of higher learning in Pictou. At that time, the only available higher educational training in Nova Scotia was King's College (est. 1788). An

exclusive Anglican institution, King's statutes provided for a series of tests, oaths and rules which made it impossible for any conscientious Dissenter to attend the College. McCulloch strongly objected to this policy, and formed an educational society in Pictou, for the purpose of raising funds for the erection of an institution of higher learning free from any taint of denominationalism.

In 1816, the Nova Scotia Assembly granted McCulloch a charter for the incorporation of a non-denominational Academy, but His Majesty's Council, staunch defenders of the Anglican establishment, crippled the institution by refusing it any permanent annual grant; denying it college status (i.e., the right to confer degrees); and limiting Trustees and Professors to Episcopalians and Presbyterians. In spite of these restrictions, McCulloch and his supporters accepted these terms, in hopes of removing them at some future date, and the Pictou Academy came into existence.

While the Academy was perhaps McCulloch's greatest concrete achievement, behind it lay an even greater contribution to the history of education in Nova Scotia - the philosophy of a liberal education. The Academy was not merely a quasi-college; it was a concrete extension of McCulloch's mind, embodying all that he had gleaned from his Scottish Presbyterian background, as well as his own ideas on education. First of all, he was adamant in insisting that the Academy was non-sectarian, in spite of the restrictions placed upon its Trustees and Professors. In a letter to the Rev. Edward Manning, a prominent Nova Scotia

Baptist, McCulloch firmly asserted:

> "...As long as I am connected with the seminary no baptist will ever have reason to complain of our interference...with the (religious) principles of his son. Should any belonging to your connexion entrust us with the education of their children we will without intermeddling with baptism exert ourselves to return them good scholars and respectable men..."

Jotham Blanchard, one of the Academy's earliest graduates, describes its purpose in these words:

> "...The Academy was founded for the purpose of affording a sound and useful education in the higher branches of learning to all without religious distinctions and on terms to render it accessible to all the middle ranks of Society; or in different words, the Institution was intended to be a Scotch College, but without the power of conferring degrees..."
> (Journals & Proceedings Nova Scotia House of Assembly, 1832, App.1:5)

Indeed, the "Scotch" model was strictly adhered to. McCulloch concentrated on teaching "general principles", and introducing his students to as broad a general background as possible. Once the youths had absorbed this general knowledge, they were encouraged to use their own initiative in applying it to practical problems in their pioneer society.

THOMAS McCULLOCH

"...The purpose of training under McCulloch was to give the pupil just enough material and information so that he would have to think for himself and solve his own problems. This taught self-reliance and was self-education..." (G.A. Campbell, The Contributions of Thomas McCulloch to the Educational system of Nova Scotia, unpublished thesis, Dalhousie University 1955.)

This method of teaching was complemented with exposure to widely varied fields of instruction, Mathematics, Moral, Natural and Experimental Philosophy, as well as the old standards, Latin, Greek and Logic. By introducing the student to a vast spectrum of knowledge, McCulloch intended to provide him with the best general education possible; the individual could then decide where to specialize, and what to do with his life. Behind McCulloch's whole philosophy of education was the conviction that youths, especially in a pioneer society, must be provided with an education of practical, concrete value.

McCulloch's concern with the practicality and applicability of subject material developed in him a disapproving attitude towards any over-emphasis of the Classics in an educational curriculum. He often referred contemptuously to the "...protracted and irksome apprenticeship..." of students in certain colleges "...to Latin and Greek which yields little compensation for the want of that appropriate intelligence, which their subsequent pursuits render indispensable, and which, under a system better conducted, they

might have acquired..." (On the Nature and Uses of a Liberal Education).

This point of view involved McCulloch in several controversies, the first of which occurred through the medium of the press in 1818. McCulloch wrote a series of letters in the Halifax newspaper, Acadian Recorder, under the pen-name "Investigator", which stirred the Vice-Principal of King's College, Dr. William Cochran, to pen replies under the name "Pacificus". The specific bones of contention were the restrictive statutes of King's College, and the proper place of the Classics in a college curriculum.

The second controversy was private in nature, involving the Baptist scholar, Edmund Crawley, who was a candidate for a professorship at Dalhousie College in 1838, and desired a heavy emphasis on the Classics in the college's curriculum. The quarrel had far-reaching effects, for it was instrumental in alienating the Baptists from McCulloch; after Crawley failed to obtain a professorship at Dalhousie College, the Baptists retired to the Annapolis Valley, and converted their Academy at Horton into Queen's College, which later became Acadia University.

McCulloch's emphasis in his philosophy of education was on practical knowledge; that is, learning what could be applied to the problems of a pioneer society. He regarded intelligence as a tool, to be utilized for the advancement of society, and the progress of the human race. There was also heavy emphasis placed on the importance of Theology in a well-

rounded education. McCulloch felt that, as God had provided man with the ability to think, reason, and learn, it was only proper that man ought to thank the Lord, by using these powers to gain a better understanding of the Divine Creator. This blending of education and religion, when pursued to the fullest extent, would lead man into a form of "Utopia":

> "...Intelligence,...universally diffused, and exerting that control which is due to its excellence by conducting every man to the discharge of his duty, will vastly increase the happiness of the social state. When truth springs from earth, righteousness looks down from heaven; and the God of righteousness and truth gives what is good. Happy will that period prove, when human intelligence, formed on the model of heavenly wisdom, educes from every part of society that excellence of deportment which man ought to exemplify. The work of righteousness is peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever..." (Ibid).

The Academy's classes opened in a private house in Pictou, in May 1818, with instruction in Latin, Greek, Moral Philosophy, Logic and Mathematics. That winter, a permanent building was completed and officially opened. In 1820, the Presbyterian Synod of Nova Scotia asked McCulloch to establish a Divinity course, to be taught at the Academy, for the purpose of training native ministers. Twelve students attended the Divinity course in 1821, and the first graduates emerged in 1824, when they were unanimously recommended by the Pictou

Presbytery for licensure. The fitness of native youths for the ministry was irrevocably established that same year, when three of the graduates, John MacLean, John L. Murdock, and R.S. Patterson, ventured to the University of Glasgow, and successfully completed the examinations for the degree Master of Arts in Theology.

McCulloch's "liberal" outlook was not limited to educational matters. He was not only a Presbyterian, but also a Dissenter. Throughout his life, he exerted himself time and again, through correspondence with leading men in Nova Scotia, in order to establish a solid coalition amongst the Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists of Nova Scotia, to fight for the rights denied Dissenters by the Anglican establishment: the right to issue marriage licenses; the right to the incorporation of Dissenting congregations; the right to grants from the British government, for the propogation of the Gospel in British North America; and the opening of the Academy's Board of Trustees and Faculty to all denominations. On one occasion, McCulloch privately discussed the expediency of a religious union between Baptists and Presbyterians in Nova Scotia with the Rev. Edward Manning.

The liberality of his religious views is demonstrated by two isolated occurrences in his life. While visiting the British Isles in 1825-26, on behalf of the Academy, McCulloch circulated an appeal, on behalf of the Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, for support from their British brethren for their work in

the colonies. After he moved to Halifax in 1838, he ministered to the Granville St. Baptist congregation, while they were without a minister during the spring of 1839. While these actions may have proven beneficial politically, they nevertheless exhibit the liberality of McCulloch's mind in matters of religion. There were but two religious sects which he could not tolerate, the Papist Roman Catholics, who were the bitter enemies of all Protestants; and the Church of Scotland (Kirk), which violently and actively opposed McCulloch's work in the field of education.

McCulloch's endeavours in Nova Scotia were not limited to purely educational pursuits. He was actively interested in the field of Natural Philosophy, or Science. After the opening of the Academy, he procured a second-hand philosophical apparatus in Scotland, and constructed around it an elaborate course in contemporary Science. In later years, this was expanded into a series of public lectures on Chemistry, presented in Pictou, Halifax, and other Maritime centers. A prominent Nova Scotian historian has referred to these lectures as pioneering steps in the field of adult education, through "extension lectures".

McCulloch also combined an interest in Natural Philosophy with extensive work in Natural History, collecting various specimens of the birds, animals, insects, rocks and minerals of Nova Scotia. Altogether he and his sons constructed three separate collections. The first was donated to McCulloch's alma mater, the University of Glasgow; the second was sold privately in

London in 1834, due to family financial problems; and the third, collected while McCulloch was President of Dalhousie College, was offered to the province as the nucleus for a museum of Natural History. The province, however, declined the offer, and the collection was presented to Dalhousie after McCulloch's death. One of McCulloch's sons, Thomas Jr., became an excellent taxidermist and a life-long active participant in the field of Natural History, establishing a lengthy friendship with John James Audubon, when the famous American naturalist visited Pictou in 1833.

Success, however, merely breeds envious enemies, and the Academy was no exception. Consistently opposed by a small core of Anglicans in the Halifax Government circles, who felt that the institution was "...likely to rise or decay as the College at Windsor (i.e. King's) is depressed or advanced...", the Academy's request for funds during the decade of the 1820's was refused time and time again. Attempts to obtain a permanent annual grant and degree-granting powers were also unsuccessful.

The blows which finally destroyed the Academy, however, were delivered by the Church of Scotland (Kirk). The Kirk's ministers in Nova Scotia, notably the Rev. K.J. Mackenzie of Pictou, constantly attacked the institution, for it threatened to provide the Secessionist Presbyterians with a vast new supply of colonial ministers. If this occurred, the prospects of the Kirk's advancement in the colonies would be destroyed. Kirk offensives, combined with Anglican opposition and Presbyterian apathy for the cause of the

Academy, finally led to its weakened position in the 1830's.

In 1831, the Nova Scotia Legislature passed an Act, which added a Grammar School to the Academy, and expanded the Board of Trustees to include a number of Kirk representatives. The financial aid provided by the Act was inadequate and as the Kirk and Presbyterian Trustees fought with one another, the Academy slipped deeper into debt. In 1838, McCulloch finally left the Academy, to seek his fortunes at Dalhousie College, Halifax.

Founded in 1819 by Lord Dalhousie and intended to be a liberal, non-sectarian institution, Dalhousie College presented a direct threat to McCulloch's plans. The Board of Governors which Lord Dalhousie selected for his college, however, largely consisted of Anglicans who were more concerned with the success of King's College than with the establishment of Dalhousie. In 1823, McCulloch had privately offered Lord Dalhousie Presbyterian support for his College, if he would agree to some type of union with the Academy, but this offer was rudely rebuffed. It was quite ironic that, fifteen years later, the Board of Governors turned to the very man that Lord Dalhousie had rejected, in order finally to establish the college. Nevertheless, in 1838, Thomas McCulloch was the only man in Nova Scotia capable of the task.

The establishment of Dalhousie was marred by the controversy between the Baptist scholar Edmund Crawley and McCulloch, over the proper place of the Classics in the college's

curriculum. The feud ended any immediate hope for the creation of a non-sectarian college in Nova Scotia, and by mid-century the Baptist Acadia College was joined by a Roman Catholic Saint Mary's, Halifax and Saint Francis Xavier College, Arichat, as well as a Methodist Mount Allison College, in Sackville, New Brunswick. McCulloch, however, laboured on at Dalhousie until his death in 1843. The College lingered on for several years after his death, only to rise again in 1863, when it was reorganized and permanently established under the Reverend James Ross, and gradually assumed the liberal, non-sectarian character which McCulloch had worked diligently to attain.

When Thomas McCulloch died in 1843, his life's work seemed a dismal failure; what he had fought for - a liberal, non-sectarian college - he had not obtained. What McCulloch did contribute, however, was the background philosophy and foundation work which later came to fruition in the Dalhousie College of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His plans for the training of a native ministry were also revived in the late 1840's, with the establishment of the West River Theological Seminary, which was subsequently moved to Truro, and finally to Halifax, where it exists today as the multi-denominational Pine Hill Divinity College.

Thomas McCulloch was a fighter, a man who formulated his principles and defended them to the best of his ability; a man who established goals for himself, and worked towards their accomplishment until the day of his death. His dedication to the cause of a liberal, non-

sectarian institution of higher learning, and the training of a native Presbyterian ministry, have earned him an important position in the history not only of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, but also in the development and history of education in British North America.

William Bell

Upper Canadian Pioneer

by A. Margaret Evans

The Reverend William Bell entered the life of Upper Canada in 1817 as the Presbyterian minister bound for the new military settlement of Perth along the Tay river west of the Rideau. This settlement was part of Great Britain's short-lived experiment in assisted emigration to Upper Canada, undertaken for the two purposes of relieving economic stress at home after the Napoleonic wars and of helping to fill the colony with loyal people. The War of 1812-14 had shown how vulnerable the position of Upper Canada was in relation to the United States. Britain was particularly concerned about populating the Rideau district from Kingston at the end of Lake Ontario to Bytown on the Ottawa river, in order that communications between Upper and Lower Canada might be protected in the event of another war with the United States. To that end during the winter of 1815-16, land was acquired from the Indians and surveyed into townships around the "Depot" or townsite of Perth.

The first settlers were Scots emigrants who had landed in Quebec the preceding September and who made their way in the spring from Brockville through the forest to begin clearing on what became known as the "Scotch Line". Besides free passage, the government provided one hundred acres for each family; food over a six months period; axes, kettles, clothes and blankets at reduced prices; and assistance toward the salaries of a minister and schoolteacher. During the summer of 1816 discharged soldiers also began to arrive.

They received grants ranging from twelve hundred acres for a lieutenant-colonel to one hundred acres for a private. The officers mostly located in Perth, where they took up government positions or began businesses.

When Bell came, he found a population of close to nineteen hundred, including 716 men, women and children among the Scots and 1174 among the soldier families. Since the Scottish emigrants were from several branches of Presbyterianism, they had not been able to agree on a clergyman to bring with them. The causes dividing Presbyterianism in Scotland lost importance in the wilderness of Upper Canada. Soon, through the Reverend William Smart at Brockville and the Reverend Robert Easton at Montreal, the Scots settlers sent a petition for a minister to the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh. It responded in March 1817 by ordaining Bell for service in the Rideau settlement. At this time, he began to keep a journal which with his other writings, furnishes not only an account of his work for the next forty years but also a chapter in the development of the province.

For a married man thirty-seven years old, with five sons and a daughter all under fifteen years of age, to begin a new career in the young province was a courageous venture. At first his wife Mary could scarcely bring herself to leave her country and friends. To Bell, however, it was the "call of Providence" in answer to much fervent prayer for direction, and there could be no "drawing back". He had had to surmount many difficulties to achieve his theological training. From his parents in

Airdrie, Lanarkshire, he had imbibed Calvinistic thriftiness and independence. When he did not receive from his father the financial backing for which he had hoped, he went to London at the age of twenty-one to make his way on his own as a building contractor. In that city, though brought up in the Established Church of Scotland, he joined the Secession Church, which had become interested in missionary enterprise. It seemed, indeed, that his life was being guided so that he would be ready when the Perth settlement in far-off Canada needed him. From boyhood he had longed to become a minister and perhaps a missionary. Material success was to him the first stepping-stone. Yet, as he prospered in England, his responsibilities grew. His son Andrew was born in 1803; twins William and John followed in 1806, and another son Robert in 1807. Both his wife and his parents thought him too old to begin the long preparation required of a Presbyterian minister. He hesitated, because of the hardships to which he would expose his family, until the impulse was at last so strong that he could not deny it. Of the year 1808 he wrote: "Probably no human being ever felt a stronger desire to preach the gospel than I did ... The word of the Lord was a fire within my bones."

Acceptance at Hoxton Congregational Academy on the north side of London in 1808 enabled him to make up for the scantiness of his formal education and to proceed to Selkirk Divinity Hall in 1810. For the next five years he was extremely busy, teaching in a private school at Rothesay on the Isle of Bute in order to make a living, and studying at the Selkirk summer

sessions as well as at the winter sessions of Glasgow University from 1812 to 1815. For his wife they must have been years of loneliness as during his absences she looked after the older children and three more - James born in 1810, Isabella Margaret in 1812, and Ebenezer in 1814. Then, when Bell finally was licensed to preach in 1815, there was not only an over-supply of Secession ministers in Scotland but often congregations were too poor to support a minister. He had attained his goal, only to find that his sacrifices and hard work were apparently in vain. The death of James from the effects of measles added sadness to the worries of this period. If Bell could not obtain a regular appointment, he at least gained experience from preaching assignments Sabbath by Sabbath. But these were at such distances from one another that travelling and provision for himself and his horse left him out of pocket. He had earlier disposed of his properties in London at a loss through the deceitfulness of men in whom he trusted. Although he opened a school in Airdrie, his old home, in order to provide for his family, his money was nearly expended when the call came to the Rideau settlement. It was no wonder that he felt his earnest prayers had been answered!

The Atlantic crossing in the days of the sailing-ship was dangerous and unpleasant. The journey of the Bells in the Rothiemurchus, a timber ship which brought emigrants on its westward passage, was described later in Hints to Emigrants. Bell had chosen this ship because of knowing the captain's father. Its departure from Leith on the east coast, however, made the trip very long, for the

vessel on the route around the north of Scotland was beset by both calm and gales and took three weeks before ever starting across the ocean. One of Bell's firmest "hints" to emigrants was to leave from a port on the west coast. During the eight weeks and two days that they were at sea, the family experienced the trials of noise, crowding, bad air, and abominable provisions. The dirty, rancid-smelling water had been in the casks for months; the black, bitter-tasting beef and biscuit "rotten and full of vermin" were said to have been purchased the year before at a sale of condemned stores. Bell endeavoured, with the aid of the Reverend William Taylor who was also on his way to Upper Canada, to hold regular daily worship. Often the storms were too great, and the people were too ill to attend. The captain was a complete disappointment. He did not erect the partitions promised to give a semblance of cabin privacy for the Bells; and, on two Sundays obstinately ignoring Bell's protest at the "profanation" of the Sabbath, he ordered airing of all beds on deck. When the ship reached Quebec on June 2, Bell and his family were "reduced to skeletons". The mother and children could not walk. Many persons migrating from Britain to Canada in the nineteenth century had a similar voyage.

The comfortable accommodation and abundant food on the steamboat Malsham on which the Bells travelled from Quebec to Montreal, followed by the kind hospitality of the Eastons for two days in Montreal, were an enjoyable interlude. But west of Montreal lay the frontier. The arduous journey by carts and bateaux to Prescott took seven days. Bell was

shocked by the swearing and drunkenness of the boatmen, and by the carelessness of the men who smashed some of his articles during loading - "the awkwardest blockheads I ever met with." When he found that wagons could not be obtained at Prescott immediately, he set off on foot for Brockville to visit William Smart whom he had known in London. Smart's new stone church, complete with bell and steeple, was dedicated on June 22 while Bell was present. Also on hand for the occasion were Easton and the Reverend Robert McDowall, a missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church from the Bay of Quinte. In this meeting with his fellow-clergymen, the tribulations of the trip from Scotland and the strangeness of the new land were forgotten for at least an afternoon, which, Bell recorded, "escaped unperceived". Moreover, various people made Bell welcome and one man loaned him a horse to ride part of the way to Perth. Except for being "ferried" across Lake Rideau in a canoe, he walked the last twenty-two miles over rocky, swampy trails through the woods.

At Perth Bell found a clearing of about sixty acres with a large government storehouse, some thirty log shanties and a scattering of huts and tents. No habitation was ready for him, since the settlers were disputing over where it should be. Whereas the Scots thought that they had an exclusive right to the services of the minister whom they had obtained, the townspeople felt that he came for the general benefit and should live amongst them. Bell quickly made up his mind that it was sensible to locate in the town which was central to the settlement. In the day and a half before his wife and children arrived by wagon,

he presented himself to the superintendent, received a building lot within the village and a twenty-five acre lot nearby, rented a log house "nothing more than bare walls and a roof" for 20 pounds sterling a year, and called on some of the settlers on the Scotch Line. Until the sawmill began operation several weeks later, there were no boards from which to make furniture or shelves for his books. Fortunately he was of a practical bent with experience in construction, for he had a well to dig, partitions to build in the house, and the floor to repair which had been so flimsy that one of the children fell through into the wet cellar below. The settlers, if woefully lacking in piety as Bell thought, were kind to the new minister, giving him milk, maple sugar and potatoes - a welcome change from the food on the emigrant ship. In July he got his share of implements and blankets, and a cow. The latter, however, created the problem of finding enough pasture and of making a shelter behind the house. With the aid of the oldest boys, aged fourteen, eleven and ten, he began clearing their lot outside the town so that fall wheat could be sown. Their custom was to arise at four o'clock and work at it until breakfast.

Only a portion of Bell's time could be given to the immediate needs of the family. On his first Sunday in Perth, he began morning and afternoon services in the one room large enough for the purpose - the unfinished and unfurnished loft of the inn, reached by a ladder. On the second Sunday he started the Sabbath School with five children present. Two days later, he opened a day school in the settlement,

partly to provide instruction for his own children. With the prospect of education for their families, some of the officers who had been grumbling about conditions at Perth resolved not to move away. Bell now had desks to make for the school, as well as seats for the congregation and a temporary communion table. Meanwhile his organizing of a congregation continued. "Professing Christians must be collected into congregations", he wrote, "and superintended by pious, active, and faithful ministers." Faced by the factiousness of the mixed civilian and military population in the Perth settlement, he realized that much prudence and caution would be necessary to "unite them into one religious community". As he examined the applicants for communion, he found people from all the Presbyterian bodies in Scotland. To prevent dispute in the future and unite them for the present, he proposed that the church in Perth be based on the worship and government of the Church of Scotland. On September 14, when Bell for the first time administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, forty-seven communicants were received. He was much moved by the thought:

> ... that we were far distant from our native land, that we were forming a Christian Church where there never had been one before, and that we had been all, till lately, strangers to one another, but were now united by the bond of Christian affection ...

In some ways Perth was not a typical settlement in Upper Canada. The settlers had the advantages of government aid to ease the

initial strains, and of government superintendence until the end of 1822. Since the officers were on half-pay, there was more cash than usual. Similarly, Bell was better off than most other clergymen. Although he received not more than 10 pounds sterling a year from his congregation, he was sure of his annual minister's salary of 100 pounds sterling from the British government, and of an additional 50 pounds sterling while schoolteacher. Still, in early Perth money did not buy much physical comfort by modern standards Like other pioneers, Bell suffered accidents in his rough manual work - a blow on his jaw while logging, a badly cut foot while hewing the corners of his house. Frequent references in his writings suggest how much the family suffered from the plague of mosquitoes and black flies and from the extremes of the Canadian weather. During their first December at Perth, when Mrs. Bell gave birth to another son (called James after the little boy who had died in Scotland), Bell noted the intense cold in their house:

> When I attempted to cut the loaf at breakfast time, I found it hard as stone; the moist sugar had become solid, and all bottles containing liquids, were burst. This was somewhat inconvenient, especially in the case of two bottles of ink I had brought from home.

He had to move the Sunday service to the kitchen of one of the settlers for warmth. But the greatest of the frontier hardships at Perth was its isolated position and lack of communications by road or canal. Though the

church founded by Bell in Perth remained the centre of his religious work, he ministered to people on the back concessions of five townships as well. Until he acquired a horse in 1820, he visited them regularly on foot. He waded through bogs and climbed over stones, through heat and storms, so that he could preach to small groups in homes, attend the sick and dying, baptize the children. Today's traveller in Ontario, accustomed to excellent highways and swift conveyance, can scarcely comprehend the time and endurance needed for those visitations. He described himself as ready every night "to drop down both with corporal and mental fatigue".

The privileged position of Anglicanism in Upper Canada was irritating to a Presbyterian minister. Under the Marriage Act of 1793, for example, Bell, after giving three months' notice, was required to appear with seven "respectable" members of his congregation at the Quarter Sessions in order to be certified by the magistrates as an ordained clergyman and take the oath of allegiance. Bell and the seven persons made the forty-two mile trip to Brockville over the almost impassable roads in October 1817, only to find that his notice had not been properly exhibited by the clerk and he would have to reapply. Consequently, he and his parishioners had to "trudge back again" in January 1818 to make the "degrading" appearance before the court so that he might obtain the special licence without which non-Anglican ministers could not perform marriages. Education, too, was Anglican-controlled throughout the province. When the first Church of England clergyman, the Reverend Michael Harris,

came to Perth in 1819, he took over, with the approval of the government officials, the school which Bell had been conducting.

This undoubted disappointment for Bell was overshadowed by the joy of completing the new church in 1819 on a lot granted, together with land for a manse and graveyard, by the government. The frugal Scot had seen the need for the building as soon as he began his mission, since the rent for the inn on Sundays was using up the offering. But the year 1818 was a hard one in the settlement because of poor crops. Even the people who were content that the church should be in Perth could contribute little money, though they helped clear the ground and brought their oxen to draw the timber for the frame. Those who did nothing, Bell noted with discouragement, were "industrious" in pious fault-finding. When he went to Montreal in July 1818 for a meeting in Easton's church, he resolved to seek donations along the way. He had a disagreement with Easton who, he thought, had been acting "like a bishop" in direct opposition to the "spirit of Presbytery". Nevertheless, without Easton's help he managed to collect over 100 pounds sterling in Montreal, Lachine and Brockville, which stimulated subscriptions of over 60 pounds sterling in the settlement itself. At Bell's request friends in Scotland sent a Bible for the pulpit, and the government provided a stove - which it later took away. In 1823 the minister summarized the progress of the congregation: 270 members had been admitted, 350 children baptized, 115 marriages celebrated. Since the building, planned for two hundred people, was too small for the Sacrament

services, the gallery was finished in 1824. Paying off the debt by the end of 1826 left Bell with only the problem of prodding the lackadaisical trustees who had been appointed for the care of the church to keep it in repair. Where he had seen in 1817 a "moral as well as a natural wilderness, requiring cultivation", he considered that the worship of God was now established on a permanent footing.

Bell not only attended to his own charge devotedly until 1857, the year of his death, but was also connected with the extension of Presbyterianism. He established several other new congregations in the Rideau settlement, and undertook a number of missionary journeys, to such distant places as Bytown, Gananoque, Kingston, York, Queenston, Niagara, Ancaster and Guelph. He was associated, too, with the strengthening of the church through the organization of presbyteries and synods, being one of the four ministers who in 1817 petitioned the Secession Synod in Scotland for authority to form a presbytery. Before the favourable reply the following year, the "Presbytery of the Canadas" independent of all the Scottish churches was formed on the initiative of Easton and Smart. Bell, however, never seemed quite at ease within it or any of its reorganized forms leading up to the United Synod of Upper Canada in 1831. In the meantime, the number of Church of Scotland ministers in the province was increasing rapidly, and in the same year they formed a Synod. Against this background of division in the Presbyterian ranks and dissension over questions such as the clergy reserves, Bell decided in 1835 to withdraw from the United Synod and attach his congregation to the larger Synod in connection

with the Church of Scotland. In 1845, he was honoured by being chosen Moderator of the Kirk Synod. Believing Presbyterian unity in the province desirable, he was troubled by the friction between the Kirk and the Free Church adherents which paralleled that in Scotland after the Disruption of 1843. He noted in his journal the "melancholy effects" of the religious disunity and "sectarian spirit".

By the 1840's and 1850's Bell no longer had to engage in land-clearing, building and the other essential tasks of a backwoods settlement. Fortunately, since indispositions became more frequent with his advancing years, better roads and the Rideau canal made travel easier. Yet the maturing province brought new tasks. According to his journal he was "quite busy" with Synod and Presbytery meetings, the examination of schools and applicants for teaching, and many organizations in Perth such as the Bible Society, the Tract Society, the Missionary Society, the Temperance Society. The history of William Bell was intimately connected with both the religious and the secular history of Upper Canada.

Isabel Skelton, having in mind Bell's stern Calvinist morality, called him "a man austere". His adamant refusal to baptize infants unless they were the children of believing parents who had been received into the church aroused criticism in Perth. He often caused hard feeling when he made funerals or other family calamities the occasion for a discourse on "the awful and ruinous consequences which follow the use of intoxicating liquors." He frowned on social pleasures such as card-playing and horse races

as a waste of time meant to be used for the glory of God. His strong views on those who broke the Fourth Commandment involved him in a lawsuit with the editor of the Perth Examiner. His strictness led to defections from his congregation when another Presbyterian church began in the town in 1830 under the Reverend Thomas Wilson of the Church of Scotland. Even Archdeacon John Strachan from York remonstrated that "mild persuasion" would be more effective with the population than a "severe, stiff, formal carriage". Bell would not yield his firmly help principles even if a gentler code might have kept more followers.

On the other hand, a segment of his congregation thought him too liberal when he introduced hymn-singing; and he was not intolerant of other churches. While he looked down on Harris for always reading his sermons, he got along well with the Church of England members and very well with the Methodists whose views on temperance coincided with his. His object, as he wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1818, was "not so much to build up the Church of Scotland as to enlarge the Church of Christ". Nor was Bell a dour and sombre Scot. There are glimpses of humour in his descriptions of weddings and of mishaps occurring on pastoral visits: for example, "When passing a creek I stepped on a round stick which rolled and threw me into the water a posteriori ... Upon getting up I had to undress and dispense with my indispensables till I squeezed the water out of them." For all his practicality, he revealed an aesthetic appreciation in his life-long delight in flowers and his many references to beautiful

scenery - the luxuriance along the Thames in England, the majestic view at Bytown, the rainbow seen through the spray at Chaudière Falls. And he was very human in his pride at the success of his children, Andrew and George (the youngest born in 1819), both ministers; William and John, businessmen; Robert, member of the legislature for Lanark; Isabella, the wife of Judge J.G. Malloch; Ebenezer, a lawyer, and James, the registrar for Lanark. Upper Canada was built on foundations of faith and stability by families such as this, headed by men of strength and convictions like the Reverend William Bell, who willingly accepted the rigours of a life on the frontier and showed himself a pioneer indomitable.

WILLIAM BELL

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Robert Burns

Founder of the Free Kirk in Upper Canada
by Paul Harrison

Unlike many of us who spend a great deal of time wondering what to do with our lives, Robert Burns was one of those fortunate few who knew his life's calling at an early age. One receives the impression from his Diary that being a minister of the Gospel was all that ever mattered to him. While a youngster he joined his two older brothers "preaching" from a wooden pulpit set up in the house in a small room called, appropriately, "The Kirk". Burns was emphatic that his preaching was not child's play but rather an expression of deep religious sincerity.

His family was not rich but there was enough money available to send Robert and his brothers through school. Burns himself went first to a parochial school and then was tutored privately. He entered Edinburgh University in 1801 at twelve and a half years of age. Leaving the College the youthful scholar entered Divinity Hall in November, 1805, and completed his studies in 1808.

It was during his divinity years that a dramatic change took place within him; he developed new attitudes and ideas which he was to cherish and expound the rest of his long and distinguished career. In short, Burns became a committed evangelical, a position apparently at odds with that held by many of his fellow students. Only when this fact is grasped and fully understood can one make proper sense of the rest of his life. To be an evangelical meant, among other things, that the Holy Bible and the doctrines contained therein became

personally accepted truths. The Virgin Birth, the Crucifixion and Resurrection, the Lord's Return, and above all, the need for personal, individual salvation provide the essential core of belief. To Burns and other evangelicals these were principles in which one believed with all the spiritual and intellectual strength one possessed and, in Burns' case, these were both considerable. He was licensed by Edinburgh Presbytery in March, 1810 and preached his first sermon at Cramond Church four days later on the text of Romans 1:16. That this was his first sermon text is significant - it defines the man and the message. Sixteen months later Burns emerged victorious over three other candidates in Paisley and on 19 July, 1811, was installed in his church there.

The Paisley in which Burns settled and where he was to spend the next thirty-four years of his life was a bustling middle-sized (by Scottish standards) industrial city. It had several schools, the foremost being the Paisley Grammar School established in 1576, a newspaper, The Paisley Advertiser, a Public Library, a Philosophic Society of which Burns was later President, a Union Bank, a Chamber of Commerce in connection with Glasgow's distilleries and two Temperance Societies, a tobacco works, a facility to produce gas and a three and one-half mile railway to the Clyde. It also served as headquarters for the seventeen man Renfrewshire police force founded in 1840. There were a large number of churches in Paisley, Roman Catholic, Episcopal, Baptist, Wesleyan Methodist, and a wide variety of Presbyterian Churches representing the

Established, Relief, Burgher, Anti-Burcher, and Old Light Burgher factions, as well as a Gaelic Chapel.

In economic terms, however, the major component of Burns' Paisley was the production of a wide variety of goods by the city's several thousand weavers. Working on their looms these industrious artisans gave the City its trademark, the Paisley shawl. The workers were primarily radicals or reformers politically and Burns fitted in well here for he was a Liberal in politics, a member of the Manchester League, and a strong advocate of both Free Trade and an extension of the franchise at a time when the Established Church supported the opposite position.

On at least three occasions during Burns' time in Paisley the city was hard hit by economic depression; 1817-1822, late 1825 to early 1827, 1841-1843. In the years 1841-1843, sixty-seven of one hundred and twelve manufacturing firms collapsed, losing about 750,000 pounds sterling, and in January, 1841, a Government inspector reported that twelve thousand, seven hundred and three out of a population of forty-eight thousand, four hundred and sixteen depended solely on relief funds for their survival. Furthermore, there were hard times in 1829, 1831 and 1837. As a committed Christian Burns was involved with these people each and every day but particularly so during periods of economic crisis. During one ten to twelve year period he made four trips to London as a deputy "on behalf of suffering operatives", to plead their case and, on one occasion, in 1834, even spoke directly

to King William about the tragic plight of many of his fellow Paisleyites.

The deeply genuine concern Burns felt for the temporal needs of men is evidenced by the fact that he wrote a number of books dealing with them and their difficulties. His Historical Dissertations on the Law and the Practice of Great Britain, and particularly of Scotland, with regard to the Poor was published in 1819. It was a highly detailed study of some three hundred and ninety-seven pages. His Plea for the Poor was published; and in 1841 and 1842 he lectured on "The Reciprocal Duties of Employers and Employed" and "Restrictive Laws on Food and Trade tried by the test of Christianity". He was an advocate of a waterworks for Paisley so that all persons could have a ready access to a fresh water supply. He championed savings banks, "those useful institutions for saving the earnings of the poor" and was president of a number of emigration societies which sought to erase many families' temporal problems by facilitating their passage to Canada, Australia, or New Zealand. He served for many years as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Paisley Infirmary and was also a manager of Hutcheson's Charity School. Obviously Burns was a Christian deeply involved with the temporal needs of men - he was his brother's keeper in a myriad of ways; he was a complete Christian personality.

On the purely religious side of things, Burns was an ideal minister. In Paisley his parish had some seven thousand inhabitants of all denominations and three months after his

ordination he began a systematic programme of visitation. "Visiting is the life's blood of a successful ministry. If we don't go to the people they won't come to us." These two succinct sentences are adequate summaries of an evangelical consciousness and they tell of a strong missionary sense which he developed both in Paisley and later in Canada; they also indicate good common sense. Weekly Bible classes were conducted by the energetic pastor and Sabbath Schools connected with his church included nearly one thousand persons - clear evidence of the power of God working through a remarkably receptive servant. For some twenty years he was Secretary of the Paisley and East Renfrewshire Bible Society; he was connected with the Visitor and the Monitor, two tract societies; he was Secretary of the London Missionary Society and was ever an ardent advocate of any missionary enterprise of the Church of Scotland. He was particularly fond of Dr. Duff, the "apostle of India", a man who apparently embodied the missionary zeal of which he so strongly approved.

Since he was so anxious to tell the "Good News" it is small wonder that had little time for the controlling Moderate faction of the Church of Scotland. Soon after settling in Paisley he began to write for the Christian Instructor, a publication which waged war on the Moderates in every issue. The Christian Instructor was the literary arm of Dr. Andrew Thomson, a leader of the Evangelical Party. So telling were the magazine's articles against the Moderate majority that the General Assembly passed resolutions, by a single vote, against it in 1820; however, no action was

taken. For over two decades Burns contributed articles, book reviews and missionary correspondence to the Christian Instructor and for three years, 1828, 1829, 1840 he was the sole editor. Since he was a staunch missionary evangelical it is no surprise to learn that Burns changed the name of the magazine to the Christian Instructor and Colonial Religious Register. This publication is an important source for anyone wishing to investigate the efforts of Scottish evangelicals in British North America.

While in Paisley, in addition to being a champion of the physical and spiritual needs of men, Burns was also active in other larger national church concerns. "Dr. Burns was no intemperate partisan. He was no blind and bigoted defender of all that pertained to the 'Venerable Establishment'. He was fully alive to her errors and defects, and in the spirit of a true reformer, bent all his energies to the setting in order the things that were wanting. His Essay on the Duties of the Eldership and Hints on Ecclesiastical Reform, furnish evidence of this." (R.F. Burns, Life and Times of Rev. Robert Burns, D.D.) As a minister of the Kirk he laboured long and hard to secure its spiritual independence by the overthrow of the Patronage System, a major issue in the famous Ten Years Conflict. He was a member of two deputations in 1834 to Earl Grey, the British Prime Minister, on the patronage issue and served on the Commons' Committee on Patronage of the same year. When the long burning internal conflict of the Church finally erupted in the great Disruption in 1843, Burns left the Established Church with some four

hundred and fifty-one others. At this point his life underwent a dramatic geographic reorientation - he now became a New World citizen.

It was not by accident that Burns became a New World citizen as he had close ties with the British North America for several decades. Apart from bonds generated by those of his Paisley parish who had emigrated during the years of economic hardship, he was closely attached to the New World through his brother, the Reverend George Burns, who spent fourteen years (1817-1831) as minister of St. Andrews Church, St. John, New Brunswick. In addition, he maintained and confirmed his interest in the Scottish emigrants through a truly remarkable organization, the Glasgow Colonial Society. A central problem facing the emigrants as well as their concern for survival was the lack of ordained ministers who could lead them in religious services; this is the problem to which the Society addressed itself.

Assisted by other Evangelicals from in and around Glasgow, Burns called a meeting which was held at the city's Trades' Hall on April 15, 1825, with the Earl of Dalhousie, the Governor General in attendance. The resolution before the assembly was "That this meeting contemplate, with deep interest, the moral and religious wants of the Scottish settlers in many parts of British North America, and resolve that a society should be formed in this city and neighbourhood, with the view of promoting their improvement by means of ministers, catechists, and schoolmasters, to be sent to them, and by such other means as may be found expedient."

This resolution was carried unanimously, and the Society formed was called "The Society (in connection with The Established Church of Scotland) for promoting the religious interests of Scottish settlers in British North America", or, "The Glasgow Colonial Society" for short. At this founding session Burns was designated "Principal Secretary". And so yet another time-consuming task was added to the already heavy duties of the Doctor; that this new designation was a genuine labour of love did not in any way lessen its obligations but rather worked in the opposite direction.

The Society's life was restricted to fifteen years (1825-1840) but by 1835 it had already sent out upwards of forty ordained Presbyterian clergymen to British North America according to Burns. An average of four men per year for the first ten years may seem a minimal effort but considering Scotland's economic and religious climate it represented no small effort. Since the Society pledged itself to defray the full costs of the outfit and passage of selected missionaries and to assist in the support of catechists and purchase of "religious books, catechisms, confessions of faith, tracts, and pamphlets to be distributed in the colonies", money was a prime concern. Men like the Patron (the Earl Dalhousie) donated liberally but still shortages existed which had to be made up from the voluntary contributions of interested commoners throughout Scotland, and these commoners were often poor themselves. To raise funds Burns undertook extensive tours throughout the land, speaking in numerous towns and cities on the work of the Society and making small but important collections as he

went along. These journeys were long and difficult but necessary, he felt, if the Faith was to take root in North America. Not only was he Chief Secretary but also chief "recruiting officer", (for new ministers) chief "book buyer" (for Church libraries), and chief everything else. Burns was, in fact, the "soul" driving force. To verify such a conclusion one need only study the later issues of the Christian Instructor and Colonial Religious Register or wade through the Society's Correspondence, most of which was addressed to Dr. Robert Burns. Strong bonds developed between the Doctor and North American Presbyterians during the fifteen year life of the Society and these bonds were vitalized and personalized with his voyage of 1844.

On Monday, 8 January, 1844, Burns sailed from Liverpool with Dr. William Cunningham to the New World; they were on a fund raising expedition for the new Free Church. The trip had two distinct parts; the first was a journey through the United States to New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, Fredericksburg and other centres: the second was a two month trip Burns made alone through the British North American cities and towns of Niagara, Toronto, Hamilton, York Mills, Cobourg, Grafton, Kingston, Brockville, Prescott, Cornwall, Lachine, Montreal, Quebec, Pictou, New Glasgow, Charlottetown, Dartmouth and Halifax. This trip took two months to complete, a fact not surprising since travel was difficult and Burns preached so often on the way. Overall this New World adventure had a great effect on Burns; he was upset at slave auctions in the American South; he was interested in the

American political process, meeting Governor Armstrong (Mass.) Daniel Webster, President Tyler and hearing Crittenden, Buchanan and J.Q. Adams speak.

In general he was both encouraged and disgusted by various facets of American life he viewed. Regarding his Canadian travels he was less outspoken but sprinkled throughout his Diary are words like "met many friends", "interesting meetings", "good prospects", "meeting successful", "fine opportunity", "active committee met me", "much kindness", words which appear to indicate a degree of general satisfaction. Burns left Halifax on the Britannia, 3 June, 1845, and reached home five months after his departure, only to turn around soon and leave Scotland once again.

Burns' Paisley congregation could have had no way of knowing that only a few months would pass before he left them again, for good. Being an eloquent and enthusiastic speaker Burns was able powerfully to present the Free Church case on his North American tour. That this is so is evident in the action of a group of communicants at St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, who left the Established Church and worshipped under the Rev. James Harris. As Harris soon retired, his congregation which had taken the name of Knox Church, sent an urgent call to Burns in Paisley. The Doctor decided to come to Toronto although it was not an easy decision to make. His new church building in Paisley had just opened and his work there was going quite well. Furthermore, he had been in Paisley for all his adult life and had built up a storehouse of friends and memories. Still he

saw the great possibilities of evangelism in Canada and, being above all else an active missionary soul, he could not ignore the call. He preached his farewell sermon on Sunday, 23 March, 1845, using the text of II Corinthians 12:11. On the following Saturday he and his family left on a six weeks ship voyage to the New World, where he was inducted into the charge of Knox Church, Toronto on 23 May, 1845. It is interesting to note that on that same day he formally identified himself with the Temperance Movement - he had not been a teetotaller in Scotland.

Before his departure, Burns was hard at work gathering a library of two to three thousand volumes for the new Free Church Seminary in Toronto, Knox College. While on his North American trip the previous year Burns had visited Kingston and talked with six students of the relatively new Queen's College who told him they intended to leave the Established Church and join the Free Church movement. This was an interesting development since Burns had been calling for the development of an educational facility (Queen's) in Canada for years in the Christian Instructor. Now it seemed he was actively engaged in working for a Free Church institution, a complete reversal.

From May, 1845 until June 1856, Burns was pastor at Knox Church. When he arrived in May there were two hundred and forty-five communicants but by December, 1845, there were one thousand and sixty-four communicants, a clear indication of the Doctor's effective, always personal, evangelistic efforts. When the Synod of the Free Church met in Cobourg,

May, 1845, Burns was unanimously chosen Moderator and the following year was made Convenor of the Synod's Visitation Committee. Naturally, Burns did most of the visiting himself. Winter was his favourite season for missionary travel; sitting in a horse drawn sleigh, warm in his bearskin coat and hat, he travelled all over Canada West, Canada East and the Maritimes attempting in a valiant way to compensate for the drastic ministerial shortage which existed. (There were thirty stations to fill in the Toronto Presbytery in 1846 and Burns and Rintoul were the only ministers available!) Being a missionary-pastor had its problems; once while walking in the woods in his bearskin outfit he was almost shot by hunters who, quite reasonably, mistook him for a bear. While on his way to Durham, Ontario, the horses bolted and nearly dumped him into the Saugeen River and, on another occasion, he survived a train derailment. Being a missionary was not a comfortable way of life but, as he himself stated "every colonial minister must be, to a greater or lesser extent a missionary; and the time devoted to the mission field is by no means lost, even to the congregation more immediately his own. A missionary spirit is favourable to active effort in every way; and an affectionate flock will lose nothing by extra evangelistic labours on the part of their pastor." Burns was involved directly in the Red River Community with the Cree Indians of Saskatchewan and the Chatham settlement of freed American black slaves for which he raised four thousand dollars in England.

When Knox College was opened in November, 1844, in the Toronto home of Rev. Henry Esson,

Burns was not present. However, when he arrived in the City he was soon involved in the new college. He lectured on Church History and Apologetics. Burns' years at Knox were among his most productive; he gathered books for the Library and secured theological texts for students at reduced rates; he counselled and encouraged young students; he made trips thoughout Canada West and Britain to raise money for the college and always displayed his own unique blend of scholarship, humility and Christian charity.

It is a difficult task indeed to write a few concluding remarks on Robert Burns simply because his career had so many strands of interest in it. The one central core around which all the others were woven was, of course, his clear and unequivocal evangelical stand. As Canadian Presbyterians we are all in his debt for major efforts he made on our behalf. The articles he wrote for the Christian Instructor and Colonial Religious Register argued the cause of Presbyterian in British North America in clear and precise terms. He saw the need for an institution of higher learning for Presbyterian "Canadians" and expressed his concern over this issue as early as 1829, some years before Queen's received its Charter. In addition, Burns took a keen interest in Dalhousie College, Halifax. Such efforts are reflections of his own high intellectual standards. A brief look at the contributions of Queen's and Dalhousie Universities through the years should serve to augment our appreciation of Burns.

Furthermore, there seems little doubt that

his work through the Glasgow Colonial Society and his eventual emigration to Toronto provided much stimulation to the Presbyterian community. His continual travels through British North America as missionary and pastor were also of critical importance. Burns wrote and edited over forty historical and religious works during his long and distinguished career and having done so must have increased his stature in his adopted Canadian community. However, how can we estimate his influence as expressed through the many students to whom he lectured and counselled at Knox College? The answer is simply that we cannot.

When Burns visited Scotland in 1868 he was warmly greeted by many old friends and acquaintances. The Free Church Moderator, Rev. William Nixon said "With deepest sentiments of respect, esteem and thankfulness to the God of all grace, to the God of our life and the length of our days, we welcome this renewed visit of such a veteran of our church, and of one whom we have been long familiar with from our youth, as one of the ablest, most accomplished, and most active and laborious of our ministers, and the most devoted and effective of all loving friends of Presbyterianism and true religion in the Dominion of Canada." This statement is a not unrealistic summary of Robert Burns.

Burns knew genuine disappointment and agonizing grief during his lifetime, particularly when four of his children died in a relatively short space of time. Yet he persevered in the Faith and always took inspiration and strength from the promises of his Lord.

ROBERT BURNS

When he died on 19 August, 1869 he was mourned by many; for a power in the Church had gone. The comment of Rev. John Smith of Grafton is a fitting summary of his contribution: "He did for the Presbyterian Church in the British Provinces what no other man could do. We owe much to him under God. He loved his church - he knew every corner of the church, and his life was bound up in the success of the cause of God in the Dominion."

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Cairine Raey Mackay Wilson

Canada's First Woman Senator

by Flora M. Blais

On February 14th, 1930, the country was electrified with the news that the Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister had announced that Mrs. Norman Wilson, housewife and mother of eight children had been appointed to the Senate of Canada.

Cairine Raey MacKay was born in Montreal, P.Q., on the 4th of February, 1885, the youngest daughter of Robert MacKay and his wife Jane Baptist. Her father was born in Caithness, Scotland and emigrated to Montreal in 1855 at the age of 14. Her mother, also of Scottish ancestry, was born in Trois Rivieres, P.Q. where her father, George Baptist was a pioneer lumberman. Robert Mackay joined the wholesale dry-goods firm of his uncle Joseph MacKay. He gradually became one of the most wealthy and influential business man in Montreal, and was reported to be more sought after as a director at that time than any other man in Canada. His directorates alone made a formidable list among them being the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Bank of Montreal.

The daughter who became Canada's first woman Senator was reared in an atmosphere of rugged Scots Liberalism in a staunch Presbyter-

ian family. She acquired her interest in politics at an early age at home where lively discussions of world events was a part of everyday life. Cairine became as familiar with the writings of the great Liberal reformers of the past -- Fox and Bright, Gladstone and Morley, as she was with the Shorter Catechism.

She was educated at the select Misses Symmers and Smith's School and later attended the Trafalgar Institute which was generally regarded as the most efficient and exclusive "finishing school" in Montreal for English - speaking girls. She became fluently bilingual, an accomplishment that proved very useful to her in later years.

In 1901, Robert MacKay, who was a great friend and admirer of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, was appointed to the Senate. Senator MacKay was a faithful attendant and became an outstanding figure in the Senate. He frequently brought his daughter with him to Ottawa and she became very familiar with the proceedings in both the House of Commons and the Senate. Cairine MacKay was the guest of Sir Wilfrid and Lady Laurier when she attended the eventful ball at Government House that brought Norman Wilson into her life. He was at that time Member of Parliament for Russell County and a farmer in the village of Cumberland, Ontario. He had been elected to Parliament in 1904 when his brother-in-law W.C. Edwards, the former member, was elevated to the Senate, but he retired after four years in the House of Commons.

CAIRINE RAEY MACKAY WILSON

Cairine MacKay and Norman F. Wilson were married in Montreal on February 24th, 1909 and went to Rockland, Ontario to live where her husband was manager of the W.C. Edwards Lumber Mill. The next few years were very busy ones for Mrs. Wilson as six of the eight children were born in Rockland. She became involved in the community and church and as the First World War was in progress, organized and was in charge of the Red Cross work done in the village. Senator MacKay died in 1916 leaving his daughter very wealthy. As well as money, she inherited business skills from her father enabling her to manage her own affairs.

In 1920 the Wilson family moved to Ottawa where Norman Wilson engaged in business. Women had now been given the complete franchise and very quickly Cairine Wilson was drawn into public life as joint president of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association. She travelled all over Eastern Ontario speaking on behalf of the Liberal Candidates in the election of 1921 that brought the Liberals to power with William Lyon Mackenzie King as Prime Minister. That same year a group of prominent Ottawa Liberal women, including Lady Laurier, were the committee, with Mrs. Wilson as chairman, that planned the very successful Annual Meeting of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association.

Shortly afterwards this same committee of women met to discuss the formation of a Liberal Club for women in Ottawa. This Club, the Ottawa Women's Liberal Club, was organized on February 14th, 1922 with Mrs. Norman Wilson as its first president. The purpose of the club

was to help in securing and maintaining good government by the advocacy and support of Liberal political principles; the study of the history of the people and the resources of Canada, and the encouragement of the spirit of a broad Canadian nationality. Their aim also was to assist in the formation of similar clubs for men, women and youth. They issued a booklet outlining the steps to be taken in starting a Liberal Club, suggestions for a draft constitution and quotations from political writers and parliamentary leaders. Mrs. Wilson wrote the preface of the booklet with an appeal to women to "organize clubs to encourage, nourish, build up and swell the body of public opinion that favors progress". She recognized the new power and responsibility that women had been given with the granting of the franchise. In this preface she outlined things she felt that women could do such as using their power to promote legislation that would benefit the greatest number of people. Her chief concern was for mothers separated from their children through poverty, the elderly, the discrepancy between prices paid to the producer (farmer) and the prices paid by the consumer, the need for all peoples to work together to build a nation worthy of inheritance. She also suggested that before long a federation of Liberal Clubs would be formed, one in each of the Provinces and a National Federation for the whole Dominion of Canada.

The idea of the formation of a Federation was gathering momentum and at a meeting in the Parliament Buildings of the wives and daughters of Liberal Members of Parliament together with

representative women of the city of Ottawa held on May 16th, 1923, the proposal was heartily endorsed. A further meeting held on June 2nd, 1923 with Prime Minister Mackenzie King, over 100 Liberal Members of Parliament and Senators together with their wives and daughters, joined with about 200 Liberal men and women of Ottawa in launching this new movement. A resolution was unanimously adoped of approval and a committee set up for the purpose of encouraging the formation of a Liberal Club in every locality throughout the country and the formation of nine Provincial Federations. The year 1925 was suggested as a goal for the assembling of delegates in Ottawa to form this National Federation.

However it was April, 1928 that the first National Assembly of Liberal women of Canada was held. When the Assembly met, the names of 150 women were on various committees. Mrs. Charles H. Thorburn chaired the original meeting. Mrs. Norman Wilson was the central force and inspiration in the whole organization which adopted the name "The National Federation of Liberal Women"of Canada". The first presidency went, not to the founder-organizer who preferred to stay in the background, but to the Hon. Mary Ellen Smith, M.L.A. for British Columbia.

It was at that meeting that a committee was formed to start a League of Youth and under the leadership of Mrs. Wilson, they encouraged the organization of the Twentieth Century Liberal Association in 1930. The Wilson home was always open to both youth and ideas and it

was here that the founding meeting was held with her own family and their friends as a nucleus. On her own initiative, Mrs. Wilson sent streams of young people across the country to do political field work and study the needs and opportunities of Canada. There are many mature Canadians today who learned from Cairine Wilson how to combine political enthusiasm with a sense of public responsibility. In her own mind the two qualities were inseparable.

During this period Mrs. Wilson was actively engaged in raising her five daughters and three sons, two of her children having been born after the Wilsons moved to Ottawa. Her interests were many and varied. She served for a time as President of the Women's Canadian Club of Ottawa, was on the Board of the Chelsea Club, actively engaged in work with the Y.W.C.A. and the Welfare Bureau. There was no good cause, particularly relating to women and children, which did not have her devoted support and help. Regardless of her outside interests her husband, children and home were the focal point of her life. Her summers were spent with her family at their summer home in St. Andrews, N.B. Mrs. Wilson was a golfer of note and spent as much time as possible on the links at the Royal Ottawa.

At this time in Alberta, five women were working extremely hard to have women declared "persons", which would open the way for a woman to be appointed to the Senate.

These five pioneer women, headed by Judge Emily Murphy, took the plea for the admission of

women to the Senate to the highest court, His Majesty's Privy Council in England. The Privy Council's decision acknowledging women as "persons" within the meaning of the British North American Act was given in October, 1929. This decision set aside the contrary judgment of the Supreme Court of Canada in April, 1928. The way was now open for the appointment that followed.

On February 15th, 1930, the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, made the announcement that he had appointed Mrs. Norman Wilson to the Senate of Canada. Mrs. Wilson thus became the first woman ever to have been appointed to a second chamber within the Commonwealth. By association, training and aptitude she was eminently suitable and the appointment was a popular one. Mr. King had been quick to recognize the ability she possessed. She had every qualification for public life - tenacity, a highly charged sense of public responsibility and a great talent for organization. She had from her youth onward a deep sense of the responsibilities of wealth and she never spared herself in the promotion of a cause that appealed to her.

This tall, slim, dark-haired, blue-eyed woman had tremendous energy and drive. She gave freely of her time and money to a wide variety of philanthropic organizations. For many years she was President of the Ottawa Welfare Bureau, the Ottawa Y.W.C.A. and Vice-President of the Victorian Order of Nurses. She was President of the Ottawa branch of the Save the Children Fund and Chairman of the

Canadian Committee for Czechoslovakian Refugees. She worked hard to organize the Ottawa Neighbourhood Services in 1932 and acted as its President for several years. This is a self-supporting philanthropic organization whose chief objective is to provide employment opportunities for the handicapped and the needy. She was a member of the Zonta Club and actively supported the St. John's Ambulance and the Salvation Army. She served as President of the National Federation of Liberal Women of Canada from 1934 until 1947 with the exception of the war years when their activities were suspended for the duration.

Senator Wilson's first speech in the Senate Chamber was seconding the address in reply to the speech from the throne. Speaking first in French and then in English her voice was clear, effortless and showed no signs of nervousness. This first speech of a woman member on the floor of the Canadian Senate was a triumph not only for herself, but for the womanhood of the Dominion.

In the years that followed she proved that she could make a valuable contribution to the work of the Senate and earned the respect of her fellow members. She became a very competent debater but was careful to restrict her speeches to subjects like women's rights and social reforms in which she had a special interest. She belonged to the left wing of her party in her views on social and economic problems, and she fought hard for old age pensions and family allowances.

CAIRINE RAEY MACKAY WILSON

Senator Wilson was a great believer in the League of Nations and became the first and only President of the League of Nations Society. In May, 1934 she strongly defended the League of Nations in the Senate when a proposal was made that Canada should withdraw. She felt that if the manufacture of armaments was discontinued, wars might cease. In her plea for support of the League she listed some of the accomplishments to date, such as the work of the League toward the curtailment of the opium traffic, the traffic in women and children and International measures to promote child welfare.

Although she admired Mr. Mackenzie King's skills as a leader, she did not let partisanship blind her to his faults and errors, and in 1938, as President of the League of Nations Society, she took sharp issue with him in a public statement, with the blessing that Mr. King had given to the pact of Munich and declared that it was "a capitulation to force".

Her greatest achievement, something she will always be remembered for by the scores of people she helped, was her work with the refugees. Her sympathetic and humanitarian response to the refugees fleeing from Sudetanland was to carry to completion the formation of the Canadian National Committee on Refugees. This organization grew until it spanned the Dominion. Senator Wilson never lost an opportunity to speak to various organizations across the country enlisting their support in petitioning the Government to open its doors to the refugees. She carried the battle into the corridors and offices of Parliament waging it at a time when those in Government who clung to

the illusion that Adolph Hitler was no more than a rather stupid peasant. Many of these refugees had skills and education to contribute to the growth of the commerce of Canada. Many were skilled farm workers, educators, doctors, business men. Some factory owners had been farsighted enough to ship machinery and cash out of their native countries, one jump ahead of Hitler. Appeals to the Prime Minister were referred to the Hon. T.A. Crerar, Minister of Mines and resources, under whose department fell the responsibility for Immigration. She cornered Cabinet Ministers and Members of Parliament alike and inevitably made a nuisance of herself until she achieved her goal and Canada opened her doors to the first of the refugees from Czechoslovakia. Among these first refugees was the famous glove-maker Louis Fischl who settled at Prescott, Ontario and Thomas Bata, the shoe manufacturer. Louis Fischl brought several other families with him and settled them on farms in the Prescott district. They proceeded to raise goats to provide kid skins for the glove factory. Thomas Bata's shoe factory was converted into a factory to manufacture armaments during the latter part of the war.

The problem of refugee children was one of the chief concerns of the Committee. The Government finally agreed to admit 100 British children, but only if sponsors and homes could be found for them. Senator Wilson appealed nationally for people to offer homes for these children or to contribute money for their transportation and settlement. The appeal met with instant response and these children were soon

on their way to Canada. They were just the first of many that eventually came here to escape the bombing in England. The Hon. T.A. Crerar called a Dominion-Provincial Conference to consider the whole refugee children problem. After the invasion of Norway, Holland, Belgium and France an offer had been made to the British Government to take refugee children from these countries as well as British children when the British Government approved of their movement.

The work of the Committee on Refugees continued as case after case of people stranded in neutral countries such as Spain came to their attention. In every case the Committee came to the rescue. Money was provided for their transportation through appeals to organizations. The children's art class under Arther Lismer, at the National Art Gallery held a poster contest to raise money.

In 1942 there were 1,500 refugees of European countries, many of them Jewish, herded into internment camps in Quebec. They had been rounded up in Great Britain when war broke out in 1939 and been sent over from there. Among their number were 300 young people of student age as well as scientists, engineers, doctors, teachers and skilled farm workers. Most of these people were innocent refugees from Hitler's barbarism and could have been admitted normally had they had some guarantors in Canada to accept responsibility for them. The Committee encouraged the Government to take a more sympathetic attitude as they felt these refugees could give useful service to Canada.

Working quietly, they won the admiration of observers on Parliament Hill with the concrete results of their work. Individual cases were studied and refugees with certain skills were channeled in the right direction. Students with the right academic qualifications and sponsors were enrolled in the Universities. Many more refugees from all the occupied countries, including many Jewish, French and Polich people, found their way to Canada in the months to follow. Senator Wilson became known as the "Mother of Refugees". For her work for French children, France created her a Knight of the Legion of Honor in 1950.

Senator Wilson fought all her life for what she considered to be worthy causes, the rights of women in Quebec, and to better the lot of women generally. She had many firsts to her credit besides being Canada's first woman Senator. She was Canada's first women delegate to the 4th General Assembly of the United Nations as well as having been the first and only President of the League of Nations Society. In 1955 she was the first woman to occupy the Speaker's Chair in the Senate when the regular Speaker, the Hon. Wishart Robertson was ill. Reports were that she carried out this duty like she did everything else with skill, efficiency and charm.

Senator Wilson was a Dame of Grace in the Order of St. John of Jerusalem and was awarded three Honorary Degrees: the L.L.D. from Queen's University, the D.C.L. from Acadia University and a degree from the only University for the deaf on the North American Continent in Wash-

ington, D.C. All her life she had a special sympathy and understanding for the deaf. Her great-uncle Joseph MacKay had founded and entirely endowed the MacKay Institute for the Deaf in Montreal about 1870. Over the years the MacKay family has taken a very special interest in the Institute and a member of the family has sat on the Board of Directors continuously since then.

Back of everything she did was her faith in God. It was a simple faith, nurtured by her strict Presbyterian upbringing. She believed that God created all men equal no matter their race or colour. She was a tireless worker for her church, St. Andrew's in Ottawa, where she was Honourary Vice-President of the Women's Guild. She had been an executive member of the Missions Board of the Presbyterian Church in Canada and a member of the Canadian Coucil of Churches. In 1956 she energetically headed a campaign to raise funds for "Armagh", the Presbyterian Home for Unmarried Mothers.

She passed away on Saturday, March 3rd, 1962 at the age of 77. Her loss was felt deeply throughtout the country. She represented the very finest in Canadian womanhood with her outstanding service to the people of Canada. Truly one of the great women of the twentieth century.

Cairine Wilson will long be remembered for the warmth of her personality, for her kindness and generosity. No one had more true friends and they came from all walks of life.

CAIRINE RAEY MACKAY WILSON

They will remember her as a woman happy as a wife and mother. They will remember her beautiful home "The Manor House" in Rockcliffe Park with its spacious grounds overlooking the Ottawa River where she gathered her family and friends around her after church on a Sunday. Or they will remember her love of flowers and her generosity in sharing them with her host of friends.

The following poem that she had framed on her office wall in the Senate might be a fitting epitaph:

To steel our souls against the lust of ease
To find our welfare in the general good
To hold together, merging all degrees
In one wide brotherhood.
To teach that he who saves himself is lost
To bear in silence though our hearts may bleed
To spend ourselves and never count the cost
For others greater need.

Ella Mutchmor Thorburn

Lady Extraordinary of Ottawa
A tribute by Charlotte Whitton
(with permission of the Ottawa Journal)

Ella Mutchmore Thorburn was more than a link with the old Ottawa. She was part of it as it was part of her. She was not, she used to say, of "Bytown, the military town of the Royal Engineers as they built the canal;" she was of the real Ottawa, the great old timber town. "Slabtown" she called it and glorified in the name by which mature Montreal, aristocratic Kingston, aspiring Toronto expressed their contempt for it.

"Never mind", she would say, "the timbermen in those days made the Government and the Government made Slabtown the Capital --the Government, and, or course, the Queen." She herself was exactly the same age as the Dominion she loved, born in the same twelvemonth.

It is hard to think of that jesting robust vigor, that nimble wit, that sheer exuberance of life now still, and gathered into some strength beyond our sight. All Ottawa will miss her for, over many years, she was this city's most useful citizen.

Mrs. Thorburn was one of a remarkable familty of seven daughters and one son of Alexander Mutchmor and his wife, Dorinda Ball. Their family home was set back in extensive grounds on the banks of the Canal. It is today the Protestant Home for the Aged and, even yet,

dwells in spacious grounds beneath its sheltering elms. But the old Mutchmor property originally embraced all the land about the Canal and the present Lansdowne Exhibition Grounds.

One little girl died in childhood, "Florance Nightingale." "No wonder," Mrs. Thorburn once told a group of nurses she was addressing, "faced with carrying that name through life." The "six Mutchmor sisters" were a gay lot in the thriving Capital. Muriel became Mrs. Gordon Wadsworth, of Montreal: Eliza married the head of the historic Billings family and died in July 1955, in her 92nd year at Billings Bridge: the late Amelia married Gordon Grier, of Montreal: the late Harriet, the late "Bob" Masson, of Ottawa, and the late Polly, Leslie Gordon also of this city. Mrs. Gordon died young and Mrs. Thorburn took her young daughter, Ellen (now Mrs. E.A. Fluker, of Toronto) into her home. The one brother, Percy Mutchmor, early moved to Winnipeg where he is in the lumber business.

Mrs. Thorburn's father was senior member of the Mutchmor and Garland wholesale dry goods house, the present John M. Garland Company, then as now, one of the largest firms in the Valley. "Ella" was her father's daughter and determined to enter the firm. Such things were just not done in those days, when no one "in trade" ever went to Government House. But not then or ever was Mrs. Thorburn to be thwarted; she insisted on a compromise. A bookstore was more "genteel", and into Durie's, known to another generation as the source and rendezvous

of reading interest for contemporary Ottawa, went Ella Mutchmor.

Endowed with a remarkably "outgoing" personality, warm humor, and gifted in repartee, "young Ella" Mutchmor was as cheery and friendly in banter with Sir John A. Macdonald, as with the young civil servant Archibald Lampman, the learned grave classical scholar, Dr. John Thorburn, head of the Grammar School which became Lisgar Collegiate or the boy or girl looking for a school text or a picture book. It was in these days that she began that incredibly wide and intimate acquaintance with just everyone and everything in Ottawa.

And as for helpfulness with shy young men, looking for books of poems or a "ladies' magazine" in a day of lush romanticism, Ella Mutchmor was at her best--and knew it. "We are seven" was the slogan, one still admiring gallant of her heyday says, of the competing group who waited upon her favors. But the combination of good looks, the same staunch Presbyterian ancestry, the entrancing uniform of the Governor General's Foot Guards, and a common interest in the business of books, threw the weight of decison in favor of Charles Henry Thorburn, son of "Dr. John."

Young Thorburn had gone into "books on his own," forming the firm later known as Thorburn and Abbott. Dr. Thorburn was now acting as Dominion archivist, and he and his wife, "Maria Jane Isabella, one of the Farrishes of Nova Scotia," approved of few of the Capital's "young flighties" as a daughter-in-law.

ELLA MUTCHMOR THORBURN

"Albeit with reservations," Ella Thorburn used to say, they welcomed her into one-half of the ample family home, now the Thorburn apartment block on Daly avenue.

Mrs. Charles Thorburn then began a story of service to her day and community that has rarely been equalled and not surpassed. St. Paul's Presbyterian Church in "Sandy Hill" was the base from which her local work and sense of broader responsibility carried her into national office of high and continuous duty in the WMS of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. For a quarter century Mrs. Charles Thorburn served with splendid effectiveness as national treasurer of the WMS, the cause always closest to her heart though her other activities became manifold.

Of course, the Thorburn and Mutchmor traditions alike would not "abide," what Mrs. Thorburn always called, "discontinuing Presbyterians" and, sharp as the wrench with the church which Dr. Thorburn had been instrumental in building, the entire family transferred to St. Andrew's when St. Paul's became "St. Paul's Eastern United." Not until then, (and then only because it was "in the Lord's cause)" had Mrs. John Thorburn ever suffered a Thorburn automobile to be driven on the Sabbath.

Ella Thorburn's abounding interest in people was the expression of a human sympathy so warm and vital that, for over 60 years, her front and back doors were as frequented by the bewildered, distressed and needy as those of

any social agency in the expanding city. Mrs. Thorburn combined, in a rare way, personal charity, clear perception of changing conditions and a readiness to adopt and encourage new ways in old institutions.

The old Protestant Home for Orphans and the aged, in the founding of which the Baroness Macdonald of Ernescliffe and Mrs. D. MacTavish had been associated, stood in the centre of the city, at Elgin and Copper streets, though, when built this had been the "extension of Elgin Street and Biddy's Lane." The Protestant Infants' Home was on Bronson Avenue, Mrs. Alen Mather its focal strength.

Mrs. Thorburn, vice-president of the Elgin Street institution with Mrs. John Lewis, the president and whom she was to succeed, became impressed with the importance of more family work on the admission of children into care away from their parents, and more family life for those taken into care. She was the major force in one of the early and most dramatic changes in the child-caring set up of any Canadian city.

The aged women and children were first separated, and the former happily established in the Bronson Memorial on Bronson Avenue. This latter was the gift of Mr. Fred Bronson, at the same time a tribute to his parents and a testimony of his regard for Mrs. Thorburn.

The children were then placed in the fine modern "unit" system plant, erected in close proximity to the Civic Hospital, and named the

Protestant Children's Village. Mrs. Thorburn remained president of each institution until both were thoroughly established along their new lines, the Bronson Memorial shortly becoming self-supporting.

Then the former Infants' Home on Bronson Avenue under the energetic leadership of the late Senator Andrew Haydon and Mrs. Thorburn, became Shernfold School, for the care of maladjusted little girls of the Eastern Ontario areas. It also became self-supporting. After 25 years of effective operation it was closed in 1946 upon withdrawal of the staff of the Sisterhood of St. John the Divine (Anglican) from the diocese of Ottawa.

Mrs. Thorburn, with the late W.L. Scott, KC, was a power in the Children's Aid Society, both of them being carried in its work into the broader obligations of organizing the Canadian Coucil of Child and Family Welfare (now the Canadian Welfare Coucil). Mrs. Thorburn became president in 1924, Mr. Scott counsel, and they were influential in getting it set up as a fully operating agency with its own director, Charlotte Whitton. Mrs. Thorburn served for seven years, one of her permanent memorials being the Council headquarters in the "Gilmour" house, now Council House at 245 Cooper Street.

Mrs. Thorburn's name, with Mrs. R.A. Kennedy, Mrs. H.I. Thomas, Miss F.M. Birt and Miss Charlotte Whitton, appears in the small and determined group who applied for the charter and founded the Chelsea Club, of which

Mrs. Thorburn again served as president through all the difficult years of establishment.

The Veterans and the Legion were close to her heart, she and that other sterling woman of Ottawa, the late Mrs. A.J. Freiman, being the heart and soul of the Poppy Day organization from its inception to the day when ill-health alone gave them furlough.

Over the years Mrs. Thorburn threw herself with gusto, into every woman's cause, serving on the Local Coucil of Woman and, for years, as treasurer of the National Coucil. She repeatedly declined the presidency. A gifted speaker, she was in demand everywhere, served as president of the Women's Canadian Club of Ottawa and in the creation of the Association of Canadian Clubs.

Her fine presence, her energy, her speaking ability singled her out for one of the first "high flight" appointments given to a woman in Canada. Hon. James Robb, then Minister of Trade and Commerce, had seen her win over the Holstein Breeders' Association to strong support of the certifying of herds, opening her appeal to them with "Now I don't know a Holstein from an ink stain but I do know TB." He asked her to become Women's Commissioner to the great British Fair at Wembley in 1924, Canadian delegate to the ILO at Geneva and representative to the World's Conference of Women in Denmark.

Mrs. Thorburn was an ardent worker for the franchise and a keen party woman, her faith in the Liberal Party being as firmly bred in her fibre as her pride in her Scotch an-

cestry and her belief in the Church of Scotland. "Though you must be fair", she'd say, "you must read The Mail sometimes and there must be something good in Conservatives when men as fine as P.D. Ross put as decent a paper as The Journal behind them."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier was her revered and loved chief, Mr. Mackenzie King, her admired and warmly held fellow-parishioner and "my P.M." She was active in the convention in 1919 which gave him the leadership.

But Sir Robert Borden and Sir George Perley were "two of the finest men I ever knew." To her they always gave their personal subscriptions to the causes close to her heart. R.B. Bennett, then Prime Minister, recommended her for the OBE, in 1935, telling her when he called her "You've deserved it though it will only add to your strength when you go out speaking for King against me in the next election."

It was inevitable that Mrs. Thorburn would be drawn into public life, becoming member and vice-chairman of Ottawa's first Public Welfare Board in the drear drab days of the depression, when she also helped to found the Ottawa Neighborhood Services. She was first woman member of the Collegiate Board, where she succeeded her other warm "Tory friend," "Hammie" Hill, as chairman. At this time rumors were rife that she would go to Toronto as deputy or perhaps Minister of Welfare in the Hepburn administration, that she was certain of appointment to the Senate when "the

Liberals came back."

Then came the tradegy of Mrs. Thorburn's life. The Thorburn family home centred about the only son, Beverley, who had gone to RMC and, at the age of 17 years, held a commission in the First World War, with the Imperial Army. Returning from conflict, he had graduated in science, mining and metallurgy, from Queen's, started work of real promise with the Republic Iron Company, and then came back to enter the family firm and make his home in Ottawa, with his wife, the former Marylu Christian of Atlanta, Georgia, and his little daughter, Mary Eleanor. Stricken suddenly with a coronary thrombosis, he died in 1940 in his 42nd year.

Mrs. Thorburn reeled and rallied from the shock, took up again all the works of her good citizenship, went about with the same cheery words, the same quick repartee, but something of the snap was gone. Into the Second World War she brought whatever service was asked from her. She was named to the important first commission, setting up and operating the Unemployment Insurance System.

On the Prime Minister's personal urging she accepted responsibility as the only woman member of the Crown Assets and Allocation Committee. Her vigor and energy were such that few in Ottawa would believe "the eighties have got me" as she would jocularly say, though an enduring grief and loneliness of heart more than age, were snapping her superb vitality of spirit and vivacity of mind. Mrs. Beverley Thorburn's decision to stay in the land of her

husband's people, her effective participation in all the traditional institutions and services of the family in church and community, and Mary Eleanor's proven inheritance of her forebears' and her father's ability and charm (upon Mary Eleanor's marriage to Dennis Monoghan, a fellow graduate of Queen's) sparked the old wit again.

"Well," said the doughty old Presbyterian grandame, "Well, if she can't find a Scotch Presbyterian, I suppose an Anglican Irishman makes a good second choice." Mrs. Thorburn's interest in living revived in a determination to be a great grandmother, a dream realized in the fourth generation's Jane Thorburn Monaghan, and her little brother James Thorburn Monaghan. These all brought reinforcing happiness to the closing years. But they were days of twilight albeit in a kindly setting sun, a long, quiet season before the quiet sinking into sleep.

Ella Mutchmor Thorburn was the embodiment of all that was finest in the stock who opened and made these counties of Eastern Ontario, who helped shape them to the glory of God and the service of man. In her long life she worked steadfastly for the furthering of decency, of justice and charity, in the day to day life of her community. Her power came from her faithful practice of these virtues in her own living. The worthiness of her service touched not only those who called her friend but this whole city and beyond, in the stronger building of the land she loved.

ELLA MUTCHMOR THORBURN

The years will be long ere one like her will pass this way again but "her work continueth, broad and deep continueth, greater than her knowing."

David George McQueen (1887-1930)

Pioneer of Western Canada
by J. J. Harrold Morris

Edmonton had been established as a Hudson's Bay Company post in 1794, and for the first seventy-five years of its history all its activities centered within the walls of the fort. During the 1860s' however, as some homesteaders took up land in the area, the business life of the hamlet spilled beyond the stockades. By the year 1887, the village of Edmonton had a population of about three hundred and fifty. Its main thoroughfare, Jasper Avenue, stretching along the top of the north bank of the broad valley of the North Saskatchewan River, was flanked by a variety of business establishments. There were six general stores, a butcher shop, a bakery, a blacksmith's shop, a land office, the Edmonton Bulletin printing shop, four livery stables, four churches (Church of England, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic), two schools, four hotels, a post office, a telegraph office, grist mill, sawmill, and a brick yard. Small settlements of homesteaders at Namao, Belmont, Stoney Plain and Clover Bar, all some ten to fifteen miles from Edmonton, gave the little village a promise of a widening agricultural industry to take the place of the receding fur trade. Edmonton was quite isolated, as the nearest railway station was at Calgary, two hundred miles to the south, accessible only by a tiresome five day stage-

coach journey.

(On one of the passengers who arrived at Edmonton this stage coach) on 27 June, 1887 was the Reverend D.G. McQueen, newly graduated from Knox College, Toronto, who had come to serve the Edmonton Presbyterian Church, a congregation which had been formed in 1881 by the Reverend Andrew B. Baird. A church building was erected the following year, and services were also started at Belmont, Namao, Clover Bar and Fort Saskatchewan. As Mr. Baird intended to leave Edmonton in 1887 to become principal of the Indian Residential School planned for Regina, D.G. McQueen came to take over the responsibilities of the work at Edmonton. (Mr. Baird did leave that fall, but as the construction of the Regina school was not completed, he took a position as lecturer at Manitoba College, where he remained as professor for many years).

David George McQueen was born at Kirkwall, Ontario, on Christmas Day, 1854. He attended Waterdown High School, then taught school for several years before entering the University of Toronto. He graduated in Arts with honours in mathematics in 1884, and in Theology from Knox College in 1887. When Dr. James Robertson, Superintendent of Missions for the North-West, visited Knox College that spring he was aware that Andrew Baird would soon be leaving the Edmonton charge. Therefore he asked David McQueen to come West. The young graduate had seriously considered joining his friends Jonathan Goforth and John and Donald MacGillivray in some part of the foreign mission work

of the church, but Dr. Robertson's insistence of the challenge of the West could not be easily withstood, nor lightly dismissed. McQueen having agreed to go to Edmonton, headed West after graduation, pausing briefly in Winnipeg to attend the General Assembly of 1887 as a newly-licensed minister, followed by another stop in Qu'Appelle, where he was ordained to the Ministry of Word and Sacrament by the Presbytery of Regina on 21 June, 1887.

From the very beginning of McQueen's ministry he was quickly involved in a wide variety of activities, for he had a breadth of interest and capability that would characterize the remaining forty-three years of his life. One of his first tasks after his arrival was to help get out logs for a church building in Fort Saskatchewan, which was dedicated in the spring of 1888. He then proceeded to construct a church at Clover Bar, doing much of the actual labour himself. He also took an active interest in all matters of public affairs, particularly in relation to the schools. The Territorial Government appointed Mr. McQueen as Protestant School Inspector for the Edmonton area in 1887, a position in which for the next four years, he supervised the schools of the entire northern part of what is now Alberta, extending as far south as Red Deer, one hundred miles down the Calgary trail. While the population of Alberta was not large, pressures were exerted on the Federal Government to improve grants for high schools, and provide training for teachers. McQueen and Frank Oliver, publisher of the Edmonton Bulletin, took a leading part in this agitation for better educational

opportunities. The outcome was a change in school organization, the establishment of Normal Schools for teacher training, and a regulation (passed in 1892) requiring that all inspectors should have completed a course at Normal School. As a result McQueen was released from the duties of his inspectorate. While these duties had been arduous and involved much travelling, they had provided an opportunity for the young minister to meet the people of the area. He became acquainted with every man, woman, and child in Northern Alberta, and for years afterward the old-timers continued to regard him as one to whom they had a particular right to turn in times of trouble or rejoicing.

Meantime, the regular work of the congregation went on. All the responsibilities of the several rural preaching points also devolved upon Mr. McQueen. He knew what his priorities were, for during this period he wrote:

> I try to prepare two sermons a week, but I am sure not with the best success. When one's mind is full of the other things necessarily laid upon it, it is really hard work to concentrate on the real work of the pastor ... It appears to me that holding an outpost like this tries a man's mettle as nothing else can do.

In 1899, two years after his arrival in Edmonton, he made his first trip back to Ontario. The General Assembly was to meet in Toronto, an event to which he had looked forward for several months. It was robbed of its

pleasure, however, for on the way east he received word of his father's serious illness. His father knew him when he arrived home, spoke briefly with him, then died that afternoon.

Yet though it was a sad homecoming it was memorable in other ways, for it was on that occasion that he first met Catherine Robertson, who later became his wife. Although they had been brought up within six miles of each other, they had never met before. They were married in September the following year at Strabane, Ontario.

Mrs. McQueen, with charm and dignity, was a constant support to her husband in all his activities, taking a leading part in the life of the community, and of the Women's Missionary Societies. The McQueens had three sons and four daughters: James, Alexander, Robert, Marjorie (Mrs. J.A. MacInnis), Christina (Mrs. D. McKnight), Jean (Mrs. H. Siemens), and Helen (Mrs. C.E. Learmonth). All three sons served in the Army in the First World War, and one of them, Alex, was killed in action in Flanders.

The last decade of the nineteenth century saw a greatly increased settlement in the Western Prairies, which coupled with the arrival of the railway from Calgary to South Edmonton in 1891 led to a growth in the whole Edmonton area. The congregation, at the same time so grew and prospered, that after serving for almost six years as an ordained missionary, McQueen was offered and accepted a call to the Edmonton congregation into which he was inducted in

March 1893. The congregation became self-supporting in 1896, and the Presbytery of Calgary, in which the congregation was situated at the time, passed a motion recording

> That the Presbytery has heard with much pleasure the prosperous state of the Edmonton congregation; they congratulate them on reaching the status of a self-supporting congregation, and commend their liberality in increasing their pastor's salary to $1000 per annum with free manse.

That same year, the Presbytery of Edmonton was formed from the northerly portion of the Calgary Presbytery, McQueen being named first moderator, and convener of Home Missions. He held the latter responsibility for ten years, a period of time that included the massive immigration into the Prairies under the aggressive policy of the Minister of the Interior, Sir Clifford Sifton. Thus he was deeply involved, along with the great Superintendent of Missions, Dr. James Robertson, in the organizing of congregations in the entire area to meet the needs of the new settlers.

The personal generosity of the McQueen family was of direct benefit to the new congregations. McQueen received a gift of money from his oldest brother, Robert McQueen of Kirkwall, Ontario, who had been a major influence in David's decision to enter the ministry. This money was invested in a coal mine at Clover Bar, and the imcome from the royalties was used entirely to assist with the cost of buildings for new congregations. Over the years,

almost every congregation in the Edmonton Presbytery received grants from this source.

The growing population also brought changes in Edmonton itself. A new church building was erected in 1902, to replace the original structure. A second congregation, Queen's Avenue (later called Westminster), was organized in 1905; a third, Erskine, in 1906; and a fourth, Robertson, in 1909. First Presbyterian Church, the name given by the Presbytery in 1905 to the original Edmonton Presbyterian Church, had initiated the development of each of these new congregations in the city, as well as financially supporting outpost mission work in the Peace River district. Mr. McQueen's broad vision of the responsibilities of the church were obviously being well communicated to his congregation. Knox College, his alma mater, honoured him in 1905, conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, "in recognition of his career as a student and of his faithful work as a minister of the Church during his many years in the North-West". Further honours came to him when, in 1917, as a member of the Senate of the University of Alberta, he was granted an Honourary Doctor of Laws by that institution.

McQueen's activity and interest however, were in no way limited to church affairs. As his biographer, E.A. Corbett, records,

> He had become a part of the city's life. In civic, school, and hospital affairs -- wherever men met to weigh and attempt to solve the problems of a rapidly growing

> town and country -- McQueen's judgment and influence were felt ... Injustice he would not countenance, and the one sure way to get Dr. McQueen into the area of public affairs was for the city council, school or hospital boards to attempt any kind of autocratic measure leading to grave inconvenience or hardship upon the employees. In fact, Dr. McQueen was usually at his best in either Church Assembly or civic gatherings when making a fighting speech on behalf of a minority unjustly dealt with.

When the Provice of Alberta was formed in 1905 and the government took steps to establish a provincial university, the Presbytery of Edmonton named a committee, convened by McQueen, to meet with the government to discuss all matters relative to the university. The Synod of Alberta, which was formed in 1907 with Dr. McQueen as its first Moderator, was successful in petitioning the General Assembly of 1910 to establish a theological college at the new University. Dr. McQueen was named to the original Board of Management and to the Senate of the theological college (named "Robertson College") remaining on them for fifteen years.

McQueen's influence on civic, provincial, and national affairs was also undoubtedly felt directly and indirectly through his friends and members of the congregation of First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton. He was a personal friend of every member of the first Alberta Cabinet, and read the prayers daily at the first sessions of the Legislative Assembly.

The premier, Dr. A.C. Rutherford, was a close personal friend for years, and the attorney-general, C.W. Cross, was a member of First Presbyterian Church. Although a strong Liberal by training and conviction, Dr. McQueen formed a genuine attachment and respect for the young leader of the Conservative opposition, R.B. Bennett, who was later to become Prime Minister of Canada. Other members of First Presbyterian Church who had wide influence in community and government affairs were: Frank Oliver, publisher of the Edmonton Bulletin, member of the North-West Territories Council in the early days and later Member of Parliament and successor to Clifford Sifton as Minister of the Interior; John A. McDougall, pioneer trader, mayor of Edmonton and Member of the Provincial Legislature; and D.A. MacKenzie, Deputy Minister of Education forthe Province of Alberta.

The continued growth of the city meant a continued growth of the congregation of First Church. The former property, on a valuable business site on Jasper Avenue, was sold the present church building being erected, and formally dedicated on 3 June, 1912. Later that same week the General Assembly met in the new building in Edmonton, and unanimously elected Dr. McQueen as Moderator.

> Twenty-five years of hard work in a congregation which, for ten years of that period, was a struggling outpost mission, had now been rewarded with a beautiful edifice, sufficiently commodious to accommodate the Church Assembly, and had placed upon Dr. McQueen's broad and still vigorous

shoulders the greatest honour and the greatest responsibility the Presbyterian church can give its sons.

For the first fifteen years after its formation in 1896, a major concern of the Presbytery of Edmonton, and especially of its key ministers like D.G. McQueen, was the expanding home missions task as settlement rapidly extended into the area. For the next fifteen years, from 1910 to 1925, the priority concern shifted to the related questions of co-operation between the denominations in the area, and the discussions of possible organic union between the Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches in Canada. Once again McQueen took a leading role. He was a member of the Provincial Committee on co-operation between the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches which was set up in 1910. By January 1911 this committee had set out guidelines for co-operation, by dividing the Province into nine districts for oversight and decision on co-operative ventures. Alberta thus set the pace, for it was not until later in 1911 that the Joint Dominion Committee on Co-operation first met.

McQueen was permanent chairman of the Edmonton district committee on co-operation, whose responsibility included the entire North-West portion of the Province. The committee met frequently over the next twelve years, diligently attempting to prevent overlapping and needless competition between churches, yet having regard for the feelings and wishes of the people involved. By 1923, there were 297

Union congregations in the Province of Alberta.

He was also involved in the official discussions on church union, and from 1912 on, was member of the General Assembly's Committee. He was a strong advocate of co-operation, but was not convinced that organic union was desirable if it meant a division within the Presbyterian Church. When the results of the first vote on the question were reported to the 1912 General Assembly in Edmonton, it was apparent that there was considerable opposition. The Assembly took cognizance both of the majority vote in favour and of the large minority opposed, and unanimously agreed,

> That the fact that a large majority of those voting have declared themselves in favour of organic union of the Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches is a strong indication that the ultimate result of the present movement will be consummation of such a union. In view, however, of the extent of the minority,... the Assembly deems it unwise immediately to proceed to consummate the union, but believes that by further conference and discussion, practically unanimous action can be secured within a reasonable time.

The fact that McQueen frequently referred to this decision of the Assembly of which he was Moderator, is an indication that it expressed his particular position. In Presbytery, Synod, and the General Assembly, he consistently supported positive steps of co-operation and understanding, but opposed any action that might

lead to a division within the Presbyterian Church through the forcing of union. When it became obvious by the action of the General Assembly of 1923 that the union would take place in 1925, McQueen aligned himself with the dissenting group that would endeavour to continue the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

At the General Assembly in 1925, on June 9th, a motion was passed, "That when this Assembly adjourns this afternoon, it do adjourn to meet ... the 24th day of June, 1925, unless in the meantime its rights, privileges, authorities, and powers shall have ceased, under the terms of ... the United Church of Canada Act". A protest against such adjournment, and a claim of right signed by seventy-nine members of Assembly, was presented to the Moderator, who refused to have it read, and called for the adjournment, declaring the Assembly closed. The seventy-nine protestants immediately chose Dr. McQueen as their Moderator. Amid the tumult of the adjourned meeting they reconstituted the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, agreeing to meet at 11:45 that same night. At the appointed time and place, Dr. McQueen moderated the session which continued its deliberations into the early hours of the next day. The third session of that Assembly was held in St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, on 11 June, at which time Dr. Ephraim Scott was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Canada.

The remaining five years of Dr. McQueen's life were full of constant activity, although the heavy responsibilities in the congregation

had been eased by the appointment of an associate minister. Since the task of reorganizing and strengthening the Presbyterian Church was a pressing one, McQueen continued to give strong leadership in all the courts and deliberations.

In June 1927, First Presbyterian Church celebrated the fortieth anniversary of Dr. McQueen's arrival in Edmonton. The illuminated address presented to him by the congregation indicates his influence, and the respect in which he was held:

> To maintain for a period of forty years a high degree of efficiency in any sphere of honourable service is itself an achievement deserving more than passing notice, but the unstained record of your good works and of your influence, which has radiated far and wide from the First Presbyterian Church as its vital centre, is in many respects so remarkable that we feel unable to express adequately the esteem and affection cherished for you by thousands of human hearts.
>
> Not only the devoted members of your own Church, but also many, many other persons have been deeply impressed by your unwavering loyalty to the Christian Faith and to the Presbyterian Church, by the fine spirit of enterprise, heroism, and self-sacrifice that brought you to this remote and difficult field of ministerial labour, and by your able endurance of incidental trials to which many a man

might have succumbed.

Your zealous service to the Church, to education, to philanthropy, and to other movements of Christian progress are remembered with devout admiration and gratitude.

Just over three years later, on 22 October 1930, after a serious operation, Dr. McQueen finished his course, having kept faith with himself and his God throughout a long a noble life. George V. Ferguson, an editorial writer for the Winnipeg Free Press at the time, and later to become a noted Canadian journalist, wrote an expressive tribute:

Dr. McQueen was as much a part of Edmonton as the woods that line the gorge of the Saskatchewan River that cuts the town in two. His tall, spare figure, the austere, clean-shaven face with its deep-hewn lines, was as familiar in the streets as in the pulpit of his church. The life of the pioneer was deep in him. He came to Edmonton when it was a tiny village, and the qualities that endeared him to his fellows were the typical characteristics of the best pioneers: character, deep-seated friendliness, tolerance, combined with utmost integrity, and a rich humour which alone can keep a man's nature sweet upon the frontier.

Everybody trusted him; everybody came to him for help; and everybody respected him. It would be no compliment to say that

everybody loved him, for there were crooks in Edmonton as there were everywhere else in the world, and Dr. McQueen dealt with them as sternly and as firmly as his Scots Presbyterian forbears had dealt with evil-doers in their days. But he was a just man, and justice brings respect in its train.

So it was with Dr. McQueen of Edmonton, and some part of that firm character which was his is built into the stones and mortar of that city in such a way that his influence will last so long as grass grows and water runs. That is the kind of immortality that counts.

The simple bronze tablet erected to his memory in First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, gives eloquent testimony to his life, and to the love of his people:

The Rev. David George McQueen
B.A., D.D., LL.D.

An Eminent Citizen and Church Leader
And a Man Greatly Loved By All
We Humbly Thank God For the Example
of His Life.

DAVID GEORGE McQUEEN

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Ephraim Scott

Editor Extraordinary

by DeCourcy H. Rayner

A telephone call to the national offices of The Presbyterian Church in Canada in October, 1973 drew attention to a framed illustrated address on display in a pawnshop window in downtown Toronto.

Fortunately the message was passed to the achivist, the Rev. Fred Rennie, who investigated and found that it was a hand lettered scroll presented to Rev. Dr. Ephraim Scott on his retirement as editor of The Presbyterian Record in December, 1926. After some haggling with the pawnbroker the precious item was purchased, and now hangs in the editor's office.

For 35 years Dr. Ephraim Scott served as editor of The Presbyterian Record, an unequalled period of official service in our church. For some years prior to that he edited other publications in the Maritimes, so that his retirement marked 46 years of continuous publishing.

But Dr. Scott was more than a writer, he was the one who did more than any other to preserve The Presbyterian Church in Canada when union with Congregationalists and Methodists took place in 1925. This was recognized

when he was elected moderator of the General Assembly in that year. Indeed, no other name was proposed. As he says modestly in his book "Church Union" and The Presbyterian Church in Canada (note the quotation marks in that title): "This election was quickly over as there was but one nomination."

His successor, the late Rev. Dr. W.M. Rochester wrote in The Presbyterian Record, September 1931: "In the hour of his passing the church lost one of its distinguished leaders who for clarity of thought, cogency of argument, vigour of expression whether by voice or pen, independence, courage, tenacity, steadiness, self-control, industry, and unswerving devotion to the church was not surpassed by any in her history of over half a century."

What were the origins of this remarkable man, who was destined to serve the church for over 50 years in so many ways? Ephraim Scott was born on the 29th of January, 1845 in a beautiful glen among the Gore Hills in Hants County, in the heart of Nova Scotia. His mother died when he was but a few months old. His father, a farmer, was a strong Christian, active as an elder in the local church. Quite often the Scott home entertained visiting Presbyterian ministers.

Like other farm boys who have risen to prominence in Canada, Ephraim Scott was educated in a country schoolhouse. Twenty miles away at the mouth of the Shubenacadie River at the extreme end of the Bay of Fundy was the

port of Maitland. At 19 years of age, with his father's approval, Ephraim went to Maitland to appentice as a shipbuilder, and he worked at that trade for four years.

Undoubtedly he was influenced by the preaching and life of the Rev. John Currie, who afterwards became a professor in the Presbyterian College, Halifax, N.S. He also spoke with affection in later years of a devoted Sunday School teacher, an elder in the church at Maitland, whose name is not recorded. While away from home in those formative years Ephraim received a steady stream of letters from his father, which directed and steadied him. At the age of 20, after careful deliberation, he joined the church, and three years later heard a definite call to the Christian ministry.

It was not easy for a young shipbuilder to answer such a call, but at 23 years of age he enrolled for the winter in Maitland High School, leaving in the spring for Halifax to take the provincial examination for teachers. With a first-class license he returned to his home at Gore, where he taught for a few months in the country school in which he had once been a pupil. Then he entered Dalhousie University, graduating in the spring of 1872 with the degree of B.A. Each summer during his Arts course he taught school. However after a year in theology at the Presbyterian College, Halifax, young Scott began his ministry as a student at St. Croix, N.S.

Part way through his second year, in January, 1874, Ephraim Scott surprised a

professor who had befriended him by bidding him good-bye at the close of a lecture, saying that he was off to Palestine. For six months he travelled through Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Greece, Italy and parts of Europe before settling in Edinburgh. There he studied for eight months in the United Presbyterian Theological Hall under professors Eadie and Cairns, followed by a winter session in the Free Church College under professors Rainy and Davidson.

Early in 1875 Scott returned to Nova Scotia, and in May, just a month before The Presbyterian Church in Canada came into being, he was licensed by the Presbytery of Halifax. On September 20, at 30 years of age the Rev. Ephraim Scott was "ordained into the pastoral charge of Milford and Gay's River" in the same presbytery. Three years later, on the anniversary of his ordination, he was inducted as minister of the United Presbyterian Church (since 1925 Westminster Presbyterian Church) in New Glasgow, N. S. In 1891, after a pastorate there of 13 years, he was called to succeed James Croil, a layman, as editor of The Presbyterian Record.

Ephraim Scott had qualified for the post by editing The Maritime Presbyterian, which he had established in 1881 under the sponsorship of the Foreign Mission Committee. It dealt mainly with the missions in the New Hebrides and Trinidad, in which the Presbyterians in the Maritimes were particularly interested. It was the same size as The Presbyterian Record and alternated with the latter. Circulation reached 5,000.

Another venture edited by Ephraim Scott was The Children's Record, begun in 1885. He continued this for several years after taking over The Presbyterian Record, and it eventually became a weekly known as The King's Own. It was a popular publication under Scott's editorship, with a circulation of 25,000.

Seven years after assuming the post of editor of The Record and in addition to his children's magazine, Scott published the Sunday School helps; leaflets and quarterlies and a teachers' monthly. In fact in 1898 he provided these helps without cost to the church, cleared off a deficit of $3,000, and handed the operation over to an editor in Toronto with a credit balance of $1,000.

At that time, and until 1927 The Presbyterian Record was published in Montreal, where Dr. Ephraim Scott lived and laboured.

During the church union controversy, although he showed no partisanship in The Record, Ephraim Scott wrote and circulated many letters and leaflets expounding Presbyterian tenets and calling for the continuance of the church. In 1915, just before the second vote, he published two issues of The Presbyterian Advocate to the number of 220,000 copies. His own statement of his service with his pen read, "I have been privileged to publish monthly continuously for 46 years the work of our church specially her foreign missions, and in all that time have been kept in health so that there has been

no issue, page, or paragraph which has not been personally prepared, selected, and edited."

He certainly earned the honour of a Doctor of Divinity degree from Pine Hill College in Halifax! From 1876 on he missed only four General Assemblies, and served on the Foreign Mission Board from 1879 to 1926.

Little is recorded about Dr. Scott's family life, perhaps because it was touched with tragedy. His first wife was Margaret Ann McKeen, a native of Gay's River, Halifax County, N. S. She accompanied her husband to Montreal in 1891, but she was never well while there, dying of tuberculosis on January 28, 1894, at 39 years of age.

There were three sons born to them, Arthur, who married but had no children, he died in February, 1916 at age 29. George W. Scott was born in November, 1878, delicate and crippled, he never married. His death occurred in September, 1913, at the age of 34. The third son, William, became a medical doctor serving for a short time in China. But as his health failed he returned to Montreal to practice there until his sudden death in November, 1917 at age 36.

Dr. Scott's second wife was for many years a school teacher in New Glasgow, N. S., Annie Roy from Linacy, Pictou County. They had no children, and she predeceased Dr. Scott in January, 1928 when she was 75 years old.

EPHRAIM SCOTT

His obituary records that "two daughters-in-law, Mrs. Agnes C. Scott of Canton, Ohio, and Mrs. Milton Hersey with her son and daughter, the only representatives of the family left to mourn Dr. Scott's death, were present (at the funeral) and accompanied the remains to New Glasgow where interment was made."

As the minister of United (now Westminster) Presbyterian Church in New Glasgow Ephraim Scott was loved and respected. On one occasion when the congregation was concerned that he might follow the example of another New Glasgow clergyman, by seeking a change of pulpit, a merchant assured a member of Scott's congregation: "You needn't worry about losing your minister, as he has just purchased a puncheon of molasses."

He is remembered by Miss Jean MacGregor of New Glasgow, a niece of the first Mrs. Scott, as a kindly man with a reputation for being so careful with his money, although generous, that he was always regarded as being quite poor.

In his later years Dr. Scott had a sparsely furnished room in the Y. M. C. A. in Montreal, which served as his office.

It was a surprise to many that he left a considerable legacy to The Presbyterian Church in Canada. A large part of it formed the basis of the Ephraim Scott Memorial Fund, the income from which is still used to aid ministers and their families in case of distress caused through ill health or other misfortunes. In New Glasgow he built a large house with spacious

grounds on Summit Avenue, where it still stands.

One of Ephraim Scott's great achievements at the time of church union in 1925 was to retain The Presbyterian Record with its name and format as "the official monthly record of The Presbyterian Church in Canada." There was an attempt on the part of The United Church of Canada to dismiss the editor and absorb the magazine in the official publication of that church as "continuing The Presbyterian Record."

However Dr. Ephraim Scott won that battle, and after the union he had The Presbyterian Record copyrighted in Ottawa, not as a new publication, but as the same one that had been registered with the Post Office for 50 years.

Dr. Scott must be remembered as a powerful advocate for Presbyterianism in a day when there was grave danger of the church being lost in a union with Methodists and Congregationalists. He believed in the unity of the church, but not uniformity. He stood for united witness and action on the part of all branches of Christ's church, but maintained that the courts of the Presbyterian Church were bound to preserve that church, not annihilate it. He fought to maintain the name of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, and to have that body represented as a church in what was then called the World Presbyterian Alliance.

The late Principal F. Scott MacKenzie spoke for the entire church when he said at the funeral of Dr. Ephraim Scott in Knox-Crescent Church, Montreal, on August 9, 1931:

EPHRAIM SCOTT

"I can speak for every member of the Presbytery and of all the courts of the Church to which he belonged in bearing witness to the universal esteem and regard for one of the most outstanding leaders The Presbyterian Church in Canada has ever had. He was one who commanded respect and confidence in a very marked degree.

"For more than fifty years Dr. Scott was a minister of the Church, and throughout that entire period he devoted himself unstintedly, by voice and pen, without a thought of his own interests, to the work of the Church. Only those who were closest to him knew how faithfully and conscientiously he gave of his best in this service. His one desire was to advance the cause of true religion. He lived for that. With Paul, he could say,'This one thing I do', and in the pursuit of this aim he went fearlessly forward in the way that he believed to be his duty, careless of all other considerations.

"We knew him as a man of tireless energy and of strong convictions which he was ready to defend anywhere and at any time. But we knew him also as a man of warm sympathy and a tender heart, as one whose life adorned the faith which he professed. Predeceased by those nearest and dearest to him, knowing much of the keenest sorrow and suffering, he maintained through it all a calm serenity of spirit. His strong faith upheld him in every trial and in his presence one sensed something of the peace of God which nothing can disturb and which passeth understanding.

EPHRAIM SCOTT

"And now we are left with this memory. It is an inspiring memory. This life is one which judged by Christian standards has been lived nobly and well. He has gone through the world helping others and showing them the way to the richest treasures that life holds. There are many today in widely scattered parts of this Dominion to rise up and call him blessed."

The scroll referred to at the beginning of this article sums up the contribution which he made to The Presbyterian Church in Canada as editor:

"For the long space of thirty-five years, he has prepared and edited the Church's organ, carefully scrutinizing every page and paragraph of each issue, thus rendering a service of untold value to the Church at large, both old and young. It was due to his business acumen and competent management, that The Record was published without cost to the Church during the whole period of his tenure of office.

"The Committee gratefully acknowledge the excellence of Dr. Scott's work, the timely and inspiring character of his editorial writing, and the faithful presentation of the Church's missionary work at home and abroad."

John Buchanan (1859-1942)

Missionary to the Bhils of India

by John McNab

Mission fields across the world have had many wonderful men and women dedicated to the enlightenment of varied peoples, tribes and tongues. Not all missionaries are so built that they can go forward with a smile amid their hardships and opposition. Nevertheless this seemed to be characteristic of that happy warrior, John Buchanan.

He was born in Glenmorris, Ontario, in the year 1859. On completing studies in the public school, he entered Brantford Collegiate Institute. Thence he enrolled at Queen's University, Kingston, where he graduated in Arts. He then completed the theological course in 1884.

The Student Christian Movement, enlisting college graduates for foreign service, was in its infancy, but John heard the call to carry the Gospel to distant lands. Therefore he decided to enroll in medicine, feeling this would enable him to give greater service. So he travelled to the city of New York and enrolled in the University Medical School. Among his fellow students was another Canadian, William Wanless, who was later to become an outstanding surgeon in India.

JOHN BUCHANAN

John Buchanan's first choice of a mission field was China. But the Board of Missions noting that there was a crying need for physicians in India invited him to serve there. Accepting their decision he was appointed to begin his mission of healing and preaching at Ujjain in 1888.

He sailed from Montreal. On the same ship was another young doctor, Mary MacKay of Pictou, Nova Scotia. She likewise was going to serve in India, a quiet person, so unlike the merry troubadour, who could sing his way across the oceans. Despite their differences, they had much in common. There was an ocean courtship. One month after the ship had reached Bombay, they were married in Indore, by the Reverend J. Fraser Campbell.

Ujjain was one of the twelve sacred cities of India. Missionary work had never been attempted there. Although sacred in name, it was reeking with disease, deformity, filth and crime. "Bubonic plague, cholera, smallpox and leprosy were the order of the day." In a small rented house, they began their treatment of the sick and the suffering. Another near-by bazaar house became their dispensary.

In such surroundings, their first children were born, their son Cassels and afterwards, a daughter, Helen. The two doctors laboured incessantly, indeed Mrs. Buchanan was on duty in the dispensary, until the day before her son was born.

This sacred city was crowded with the millions who attend their festivals. So the missionaries began preaching in the streets. Mrs. Buchanan, who was a born teacher, would sit patiently and explain the way of salvation to passing pilgrims. In the heart of the city, they built a school and a two-storied dispensary. On the outskirts they erected a mission home. This pioneer effort was so strenuous that her health, was seriously, indeed permanently impaired. Day and night sufferers crowded in for treatment.

India had other crying needs. In their first months spent in India, the Reverend J. Fraser Campbell had taken Dr. Buchanan into the mountainous territory where the Bhil tribes were located. The journey led through a Hindu village, and the villagers learning that one of their visitors was a doctor, carried in many of their very sick friends for treatment.

As they travelled on through the hills, they found a Bhil suffering from Guinea worm, so crippled that he was crawling on hands and knees to a village in search of food. This Bhil territory was one of those neglected areas, off the beaten path, that needed a physician of body and soul.

After eight years in Ujjain, they were commissioned to open up work among the Bhil tribes in the mountains. The Board of Missions volunteered to erect a bungalow. But Dr. Buchanan had used native labour successfully in Ujjain, and found it gave him opportunity

to mix with the workers. There followed on the part of those labouring a trust in the missionary. Until buildings could be erected, they lived in tents. Their first furlough came due that year, and during their stay in Canada he received gifts enabling him to erect the needed buildings.

During their furlough, Mrs. Buchanan became seriously ill. The surgeons found it necessary to remove one kidney. Hence as the date of their return rolled around, the Mission Board hesitated about her fitness to endure the heat and hardships of India. Two doctors were consulted and they expressed their opinion, that after a period of convalescence she would be able to return. So John Buchanan went out alone to build the hospital and a bungalow.

There were no skilled workmen in the jungle. But he enlisted four youths who with hoes and pickaxes quarried limestone. Others volunteered their services until he had a motley crew of workers. They demanded to be paid each evening in the small copper coins that were current in the hills. Gradually the missionary trained them to accept their pay weekly, thus building up their faith in another's promises. These mountaineers were sceptical of all outsiders.

All the bricks for the building had to be made by hand. There was no factory. He had purchased a mould and with a combination of gritty sand and rich clay our missionary taught the astonished tribesmen how to make

bricks. Actually they had not been familiar with any type of construction. Even their well-trodden pathways were crooked. So he taught these jungle workers how to use a plumb line during the building of that first modest sixteen by thirty-two foot bungalow.

At first there was anger and opposition to building a residence for a stranger on their territory. However Dr. Buchanan's ministry to their sick and his care for several of their tribesmen who had been mauled by wild animals lessened their distrust of their benefactor.

In his first contacts with the Bhils he found their idea of God was limited. They firmly believed that there were demons constantly at work thrusting upon them disaster and death. Nor did they believe that God was interested in them, "a wild looking people." It was a religion of fear.

This ingrained superstition manifested itself in varied ways. They seldom praised their children or ventured to predict a bountiful harvest. All this lest the demons would injure their children or destroy their prospects of ingathering.

One form of appeasing the evil spirits was to take a sacrificial goat and plant it by stealth or by force in a neighbouring village. Often the tribe receiving it would carry the supposed scourge to another settlement. Usually the poor goat became a juicy meal for a prowling panther.

The young physician was constantly in conflict with the practices of witch doctors. He treated one young Christian at Rajpur, suffering from pneumonia. Then on the eve of the youth's cure, some of his relatives brought in a witch doctor. Very soon after the young man's grandmother, who had been nursing him took seriously ill and died. The witch-doctor claimed that he had cured the youth by transferring the disease to the useless old woman.

There were many such confrontations in the early years of the mission. One menace that threatened the well-being of the tribes was the number of young people becoming opium addicts. In the little hospital on occasion there were eight or nine patients trying to kick the habit. Opium users may be attacked by pain in the head, the back and legs. Temperatures sometimes going as high as 105 degrees. Dr. Buchanan was greatly encouraged by the triumph of addicts such as Keriya Harija, who had been eating as much as one hundred grams of their native-grown opium in one day. He attained his victory, as some others did, through resolution, faith, praise and prayer.

At the turn of the century, India suffered a great famine. Tribes, like the Bhils suffered much as they were far from the source of imported supplies. Such grain as could be procured, had to be brought in from the railroad. That was many miles away. The bullocks that were sent to haul in grain, often dropped in their tracks through starvation. Brutal Hindu money lenders cornered available grain and charged outrageous prices. Buchanan warned

the superintendent of the State, that there was an ugly spirit of insurrection stirring among the tribesmen. The official then sent cart loads of grain, which the missionary doled out, often labouring until midnight, to the starving people.

In the midst of this famine, Buchanan decided to erect mission buildings at Amkhut. He taught an increasing number of Bhils to erect walls and do the needed carpentry. At Sardis an irrigation tank was built and a farm tilled in what had been waste land. He also persuaded the workers to build eleven miles of road on the hilly portion of the Dohad-Ali Kajpur route.

All this work had to be done by human hands, since the Bhils possessed no machines. But the labourers were paid and their families were rescued from starvation. All this was accomplished through the missionary's zeal and dedicated concern. He was not only the superintendent of this construction work but also the paymaster.

The famine increased greatly the medical work. Despite the heroic efforts that were made, the tribes were decimated by hunger, anaemia and smallpox. Then they were stricken by a cholera epidemic. The fight he faced this time alone, for his little family was then in Canada.

In the heat of the battle, John Buchanan came down with cholera. No nurse to aid him, he gathered medicine to the bedside, and taught a boy servant to dole this out. Night and day

throughout this epidemic, death was ever a constant menace to the entire settlement.

But his troubles were by no means only medicine. One of the brightest converts was Chomreya Dhan Singh. By the time he was eighteen years old, he had learned how to lay bricks at the mission and became one of the most skilful workers. When the church school was erected at Amkhut, he was given command of the mason work. The arches and pillars were a tribute to his consummate skill. But Chomreya was led by others to drink a little liquor. This temptation entrapped him and he took to brewing native liquor. There was a terrific struggle back and forth, resulting in the loss of this capable young leader which was a great disappointment to the missionary.

The use of intoxicating liquor had been for years a cause of considerable trouble such as fights and bloodshed among the Bhils. Some of the liquor was drawn from the palm trees and allowed to ferment in earthen pots. The failure of some professing Christians to abstain, and even to become shockingly drunk was a decided hindrance to the Christian witness in the community.

The prevalence of drunkenness led to gang warfare between rival factions. Then the injured were dumped at the door of the hospital. Our intrepid Canadian doctor at great personal risk, would at times rush into the middle and try to settle their tribal quarrels.

The Bhil mission had its one great goal: to improve the tribes physically, economically,

socially, mentally and spiritually. This was the five-fold task. One method was to teach better methods in farming, and also to improve their stock. So Buchanan purchased Arab and Australian ponies with his own funds, and also obtained as a gift, a beautiful Arab stallion, all to benefit the community.

His chief concern, however, was the Bhil's conversion and spiritual enrichment. During his early ministry in Amkhut, he discovered on a Government survey map, the Toran Mall Lake in the Satpura Mountains. As these hills were 3,800 feet above sea level he vizualized this spot as a possible educational centre during the hot season.

Accompanied by three Bhil Christians, he made the journey in the middle of the Summer. It was a tough climb, over rocks and stones, and up and down steep mountain sides. Sometimes their journey was on hands and knees before they sighted Toran Mall. However, they had a knowledgeable Bhil guide with them as they climbed and sweated.

Finally, they reached the flat top and discovered a beautiful lake of pure water. It was spring water, clear as crystal, and at the height of the hot season there was a comforting coolness. There the doctor decided to establish a Summer School. Year by year after the buildings were erected, sixty to seventy young Bhils were brought together for periods of Bible Study and work sessions. This School has become self-supporting. The road has been vastly improved since his first journey, and it has been jocularly remarked

that the road was paved by the tread of Bhils, Bears, Buffaloes and Buchanans.

Our Presbyterian mission was truly a dual conquest. For the mother spirit of Mrs. Buchanan cared not only for her own flesh and blood, but for the sick, the orphans and the hungry.

Their own family life was a remarkable illustration of what a home should be. Four children came to enrich their lives, one son and three daughters. Helen, the babe with beautiful curls, became a victim of cholera, and sleeps among the hills, buried in the Leper Cemetery. Their son, Cassels came to Queen's University, and enrolled in the faculty of Science. When World War I erupted, he joined the Sixth Field Company of Canadian Engineers. Seriously wounded in the Ypres salient, he sleeps in a soldier's grave. Ruth, an honours graduate of Queen's and her younger sister, Agnes, are living now among the hills of their beloved India. Ruth wrote a wonderful tribute, "My Mother," which is a spiritual classic.

Many came to believe in God's love, because they had experienced Memsahib's wonderful love. The power that inspired her to share the burdens and sorrows of the community was the constant meditation on the love and suffering of Jesus. For Mrs. Buchanan could have given herself wholly to medical work. But even when her children were young she enjoyed training the young Christians in the way of Salvation. This was for her a never-ending source of joy. And when Church School examinations were annually held for All-India many

of her students carried off honours.

Doctor, teacher, missionary, mother, what a wonderful life - but it was exhausting. More than once she was laid aside by illness. One very serious operation was performed by Sir William Wanless. But her strenuous labours were unceasing. Her final day on duty was typical of her labours.

> The workmen's Bible Class at 6.30 a.m;
> Visiting the homes till breakfast at 11;
> Bible Class for teachers and preachers at 2.30;
> The afternoon with one of the women who was sick;
> At dusk her garden.

She took ill that evening. Two weeks later she became one of the saints at rest. For forty-seven years, Dr. Mary Buchanan had been a faithful, zealous missionary, among the native people she so dearly loved.

The Bhil Mission had multifarious activities. There were four farms: at Amkhut, Sardi, Chicheniya and Toran Mall. All training was designed to produce better cattle, horses, goats, bees, fodder, seed, gardens and fruit trees. There was also provision for industrial know-how, such as carpentry, bricklaying, and the quarrying of lime.

There was no State education then for these backward mountaineers. That is the reason Buchanan felt compelled to give them a basis of training so schools were organized

for grown ups as well as children. They were taught to read and write. Some of the teaching was carried on by orphans, who had been instructed by Mrs. Buchanan. Even when temperatures had passed the one hundred degree mark work instruction continued. So at the turn of the century, before Dr. Frank Laubach had coined his slogan, "Each one teach one," our Bhil missionaries had been using this method.

The three Sunday Schools at Amkhut, Sardi, and Mendha were not solely for children but converts of all ages. During the first half of the year, the studies were based on the International Sunday School lessons. In the second half, The Life of Christ or a similar text book on the New Testament was used. Out of this period of instruction, men "shy and shaggy as a wild bison," became messengers of truth. The largest of these schools was Amkhut, which often had a registration around 240.

When the Buchanans began their mission at Amkhut, they found the witch-doctor in the saddle, but not one bottle of good medicine. The missionaries, however, began their labours, by visiting and treating the poorest of the poor. When the news spread patients began to arrive early in the morning and kept coming often until close to midnight. Thousands of cases were treated during their mission, but in the early years lack of hospital facilities and nurses prevented them from bestowing all the care they wished to give the sufferers.

Even the Maharani came to the mission for treatment and benefitted. During the epidemics

that periodically swept India, the missionaries were aided by some of their Christian students to care for the stricken.

Dr. Buchanan's remarkable contribution did not go wholly unrecognized. The British Government awarded him the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal, "for conspicuous service involving courage and sacrifice." Four years later in 1917 Queen's University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Then the General Assembly of 1928, meeting in Regina, acknowledging his wonderful contribution elected him Moderator.

Some will remark that his was a many-sided mission. But there was one constant goal, Men for the Master, meaning the Bhils for Christ. John Buchanan touched many lives, Hindu, Moslems and particularly Bhils. The unfailing message he proclaimed was the love of Christ for all mankind.

John Buchanan said repeatedly: "We are trying to join together what our Lord never intended should be divorced: religion, intelligence and honest labor." So the brickfield, the lime quarry, the wall building, the board sawing, and the farms were his evangelistic halls. "I want none better," was his comment. These activities, as his daughter Ruth has written, were not only to train the Bhils in honest labor, but to make them also worthy ambassadors of Christ.

After over fifty years of service, he chose to live his sunset days among the Bhils.

When need arose he often assisted his missionary brethren. In his eighty-third year he sent a characteristic message to the Church -

"It's great sport to bag a panther,
To hook out a large fish,
But the grandest sport of all,
And the one I enjoy most,
Is to win a man, a woman, a boy or a girl,
From demon bondage to the
Blessed freedom of Jesus Christ."

No greater love! They gave their lives for others, who became their friends.